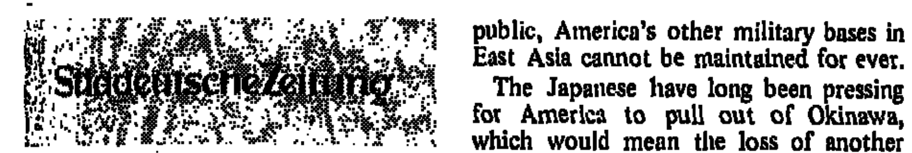
The German Tribune

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President Nixon presses ahead with his new China policy



At his last press conference President Nixon declared that his soundings in Peking's direction are not tactics designed solely to irritate Moscow. Impressing the Russians would be a bit thin as the main motive behind a complete change in American policy towards Asia.

Moscow has, in any case, long felt forced to dig in diplomatically on two fronts. But the Americans and the Chinese are neither capable of nor interested in bringing joint pressure to bear on the third world power, least of all via the arms race.

Both would be further increasing their military burden at a time when the pressure of economic developments makes it incumbent on them to reduce military spending.

At disarmament talks it has been clear for some time that effective arms cuts are a difficult proposition as long as the Chinese are not represented.

At the Salt talks between Washington and Moscow, for instance, first one side and then the other noted that a certain minimum was not levelled at the other participant but intended as a safeguard against further Chinese missile development.

In his major speech at the Communist Party congress in Moscow Leonid Brezhnev recommended holding a five-member nuclear disarmament conference with China as the fifth member. No objections have so far been lodged by Washington.

President Nixon's announcements of US troop withdrawals from South-East Asia are also a little shaky as long as they are made dependent solely on an appropriate response by the Vietnamese Communists and repeated without taking Chinese reactions into account.

Once Vietnam is vacated, both hawks and doves in the United States note in public, America's other military bases in East Asia cannot be maintained for ever.

The Japanese have long been pressing for America to pull out of Okinawa, which would mean the loss of another link in the chain of US bases from Korea to the Philippines.

But is there any point in an string of bases established in days when warfare was waged in a manner entirely different from the present age of long-range missiles?

The men who guide the fortunes of US policy will find it hard to come to a decision on this and similar topics without first engaging in a serious exchange of views with Peking.

Mr Nixon still plans to pull out of Vietnam and his stated conditions for so doing are now more flexible than ever before. The only absolute necessity is that the Vietnamese Communists free US prisoners of war.

As soon as the anti-Communist regime in South Vietnam stands a chance of surviving under its own steam, the President now says, there will no longer be any need for American forces to remain stationed in Vietnam.

This time the White House is giving no indication as to whether this chance is expected to improve with American support or to worsen in the near future. Does Mr Nixon want to keep both options open?

In 1973 when the President's term of office expires he would doubtless dearly love to be able to state a definite date by which the boys will be home.

Were he in the meantime to have met a leading Chinese Communist, a meeting about the prospect of which he is no less enthusiastic than Mao Tse-tung, this might clinch his re-election.

So Richard Nixon cannot be as warmongering and inflexible as the North Vietnamese delegates in Paris are currently making him out to be after all. His attempts to forge a new Asian policy are more flexible even than the solutions proposed by leading Opposition Democrats in the United States.

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk now says that admission of Peking to the United Nations must be on the basis of recognition of two Chinas; Mr Nixon is less rigid.

Some of his advisers, the President commented at his last press conference, were thinking in terms of a two-China policy, others felt only one China in UNO to be possible.

These are not declarations of intent in respect of Washington's next steps. There are the perspectives of a long-term China policy.

Immanuel Birnbaum

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 April 1971)

IN THIS ISSUE

EEC Finance Ministers meet in Hamburg

Professor Herbert Weichmann, Mayor of Hamburg greets Mario Ferrari-Agradi Italy's Finance Minister, at the commencement of the EEC Finance Ministers conference that opened in Hamburg on 26 April. With the Mayor is Baron Snoy et d'Oppeurs (left) from Belgium, Alex Möller from this country and Giscard d'Estaing from France. (Photo: dpa)

Pretoria offers hand of friendship to African states

African politicians outside South Africa are agreed that apartheid discriminates against the coloured man and must be rejected. Opinions differ only as to what measures must be taken against it.

A number of politicians hold the view that discussions with Pretoria are impossible since there can be no expectation of South Africa relaxing its rigid attitude. What is more, they feel, acknowledgment that people of all races are absolutely equal is a sine qua non of any debate.

Sooner or later the South African government will have to be forced to renounce its racial policy, they conclude.

At present the South African government has not the slightest intention of making alterations to either the principle of separate racial development or the many mean tricks that disgust even people who appreciate the white minority's fear of being overwhelmed by alien influences.

Instead Pretoria has offered all African countries diplomatic recognition and co-operation on the principle of strict non-intervention in the domestic affairs of the other.

This principle, the South African government assures them all, will one of these days equally strictly be applied to the Bantu states scheduled for establishment on South African territory.

At a spectacular press conference in Abidjan President Félix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast has advocated an exchange of views with South Africa.

Reiterating a statement already contained in the Lusaka manifesto he noted that white people whose homes are in Africa are as much Africans as the Arabs, Berbers, Bantus and Nilotic peoples that have made Africa their home at various stages in history.

The statement represents common ground for debate spanning chasms of disagreement on other points.

For their part the South Africans assure all and sundry that their policy of separate development is aimed not at discrimination but at geographical division, not at racial predominance but at racial coexistence and not at common citizenship but at different nationalities of independent peoples in the South African subcontinent.

Basing its moves on historical experience and patterns the government of South Africa is resegregating multiracial communities and bans joint political organisations.

Opponents of the theory and practice of apartheid consider this policy to be the attempt by a minority to impose its will on a majority four times larger with the aim of perpetuating an artificial, unjust order.

M. Houphouet-Boigny, and with him the heads of state of Madagascar, Malawi and Gabon and the Ghanaian Prime Minister, are agreed in principle if not as to methods on non-intervention, or absolute neutrality as the Ivory Coast puts it.

They must no longer insist that apartheid must be abolished before an exchange of views with South Africa can commence. They feel there to be no alternative to a policy of negotiation and peaceful influence in view of Africa's position midway between the blocs and the way it is trailing behind a highly developed South Africa armed to the teeth.

M. Houphouet-Boigny is a believer in the power of setting a good example and honestly exchanging views. With this in mind he is prepared to accept an invitation to visit Pretoria and exchange diplomats.

The reaction in South Africa to the budding opening to the North, as Foreign

Continued on page 2

■ OSTPOLITIK

Opposition would meet trouble repudiating East Bloc treaties

Frankfurter Allgemeine

It has long been a commonplace that *Ostpolitik* is going to be a protracted business. We will have to get used to thinking in terms of longer periods of time on safeguards of and improvements in the situation in Berlin, the allied issue of ratification of the two treaties with Eastern Bloc countries so far concluded by Bonn and further treaties with Eastern Europe.

In retrospect what was considered at the time to be day-to-day politics must often be viewed in terms of the year as a whole. To think in terms of years rather than months ought not to give rise to suspicions of evil political intent to shelve something in which the government is not really interested and would sooner consign it to historical oblivion.

In this context it may also be useful to bear in mind what appears to be the current style of political negotiations or pre-talk talks on a long-term basis, negotiations that give the lie to visions of swift and rapid changes in the wake of tempestuous technological development.

Technology, which on the one hand would apear considerably to facilitate permanent communication at all levels and in its military applications makes power politics such an incalculable business, seems if anything to be delaying rather than accelerating international political agreement.

There have been unconscionably long drawn-out negotiations that in the end have come to a satisfactory conclusion. Take, for example, the talks that took virtually a dozen years to establish neutral status for Austria.

The negotiations that led to the nuclear test ban treaty took the better part of a decade. Since 1955 Warsaw has been the venue of what might be termed the Sino-American emergency negotiation service. The Paris Vietnam talks are quite evidently sterile but where is the politician who would advocate abandoning them?

The situation at the Middle East powder keg is so tense that an old adage has gained fresh relevance. As long as the two sides negotiate there will at least be no shooting.

None of these negotiations can or is intended to set an example for the Berlin talks, of course. They are merely a reminder that international political agreements nowadays require a formidable amount of patience.

The background, as a number of the examples already cited indicate, can preclude the possibility of agreement for a time at least. At one and the same time one or both sides may be engaged in attempts to achieve their aims by other, military means.

Negotiation machinery may already be deployed but its wheels are self-lubricating even in neutral and the powers in question view it as nothing more nor less than a mechanism arranged in series that might at some suitable moment prove useful either as a bulwark on which to fall back or as the spearhead of advance.

This is doubtless the view Hanoi takes of the Paris talks and the influence Moscow brought to bear on the painfully protracted Middle East talks bore witness to a Soviet interest in maintaining a tense but not overstrained situation as the state of affairs in which the Soviet position in the Mediterranean and beyond could most easily be strengthened.

This need not be the reason why talks drag on endlessly though. Both sides may well be willing to come to a swift conclusion but fail to do so because of the difficulty of reaching a workable compromise between what originally were diametrically opposed viewpoints.

What is more, the various conceivable reasons for negotiations dragging on can be intermingled in a manner that is difficult to illuminate.

What, then, will be the motives behind the probable duration of the Berlin talks in the immediate future, it being assumed that both sides would like to reach agreement?

There can be not doubt that the subject matter is problematic enough. Put in a nutshell it is one of geography. The target is straightforward but it will be difficult to put into effect. What is more, the three Great Powers are all the more determined to arrive at a satisfactory solution after yielding on a previous occasion when the Berlin Wall was built.

For this country a solution to the Berlin problem remains a sine qua non for ratification of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw, as the Bonn Federal government has recently reiterated. So the domestic and international ramifications of the issue are closely linked.

The Soviet side will keep a close watch on the intra-German scene and partly base its outlook on it. Could it be that the Kremlin envisages (and would prefer) the Eastern Bloc treaties to be ratified not by the present coalition in Bonn but by a Christian Democratic majority ensuing from the next Bundestag elections?

The Opposition may level harsh criticism at the present *Ostpolitik* of the Social and Free Democratic administration but would it be able to go back on the treaties in their present form without seriously weakening the country's foreign policy position?

Speculation of this kind is more than possible now that the initial haste in policy towards the Eastern Bloc has given way to more long-term considerations.

Nikolas Benckiser

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 April 1971)

Bonn may be missing the Peking boat

The first member of the government to say a cordial word about China has been neither the Chancellor nor the Foreign Minister but Defence Minister Helmut Schmidt, who has noted in an interview that, "The Federal Republic ought, in the not too distant future, to make it clear that it is fully aware of the importance of the People's Republic of China in world affairs."

In deference to the United States Bonn governments have refrained from establishing permanent links with Red China. The present government ignores the third world power in deference to Moscow, failing to notice that even Eastern Bloc countries such as Rumania are not put off by furrowed brows in the Kremlin from seeking cordial relations with Peking.

The Chinese make no bones about the fact that Bonn's past and present course is considered to be the result of a [illegible] mentality that has made this country an uninteresting partner from Peking's point of view.

Washington would no longer object to the establishment of normal relations between this country and mainland China. Bonn's super-diplomats are patting themselves on the back for having kept Soviet interests in mind on such an issue. The upshot is that this country runs the risk of a slap in the face from Peking.

(DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 30 April [illegible])

Pretoria offer

Continued from page 1

Minister Hilgard Muller puts it, [illegible] discreet jubilation.

Tanzania and Zambia have disgust[edly] dissociated themselves from what [they] call a betrayal of African causes but the game has commenced.

The difficulty for the Ivory Coast and its comrades in conviction is that it will have taken a long time before apartheid is alleviated, let alone disappears.

This slow process continually [fraught] with the danger of setbacks will expose the advocates of an exchange of views for years on end to attacks and aspersions from African opponents, mainly left-wing, and South Africa opponents on the right wing of the political spectrum.

For South African Premier Vorster and his policies the signal from Abidjan represents both a challenge endangering the roots of his own system and the prospect of gradual return to the community of nations.

Were the attempt to fail it would be a fiasco for South African domestic and foreign policy and a danger to world peace.

Herbert Kaufmann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 May 1971)

Soviet proposals on Berlin are a starting point

There is no occasion to take a rosy view of the prospects but no need to view them too gloomily either. The Soviet viewpoint on Berlin, as published by *Zycie Warszawy*, the Polish government newspaper, with a tenuous reference to reliable political sources in Brussels, makes it clear that further negotiations will be tough and protracted.

They may, of course, fail but it would be a mistake to assume that they are bound to do so. There is no lack of points on the basis of which agreement could be reached.

In a number of respects the Soviet Union has made concessions to the West's point of view:

First, West Berlin is stated to be in the middle of the GDR and not, as East Berlin hawks would have it, on GDR territory.

Second, the Soviet Union accepts the West's procedural proposals for unhindered travel between West Berlin and the Federal Republic. These included the usual international customs checks (that is, no more chicanery), sealing of freight consignments by the sender rather than by GDR officials and inspection of waybills only and a lump sum payment of road tax rather than making each individual traveller pay.

Third, the Soviet Union has withdrawn its veto on Bonn representing West Berlin interests abroad. Moscow is also prepared to countenance West Berlin's inclusion in all treaties with the Federal Republic that are not military or political in nature (the Western Allies retaining responsibility on matters of this kind).

Fourth, West Berliners are to be allowed to visit the GDR for humanitarian, family, religious, cultural and tourist reasons.

This Soviet document supersedes both Moscow's 1958 catalogue of demands on Berlin and East Berlin's all-or-nothing proposals.

It largely fulfills both the requirements specified by the West as the three essentials following the building of the Wall (access, Allied presence and viability) and the three Zs lately specified (the first letter of the German words for access without hindrance, entry to the Eastern part of the city for West Berliners and allocation of West Berlin to the Federal Republic except for its special status in respect of the Western Allies).

Snags of course remain. The catalogue of demands regarding the presence of Federal authorities in West Berlin has been extended to an intolerable degree and will need to be pruned if it is to be acceptable to Bonn.

The draft does not include a specific undertaking to refrain from jeopardising the agreement either and it must be made clear once and for all that everything that is not expressly forbidden is permissible.

Two moot questions remain in respect of external representation too. What is the point of the tenet that inclusion of West Berlin in treaties with Bonn presupposes the approval of the other party? Does the East propose to fashion an escape hatch through which it can avoid recognising West Berlin as an integral part of the Federal Republic?

What, for that matter, about the idea that West Berlin be represented by the Western Allies rather than by this country assuming that both German states become members of the United Nations?

It is also worthwhile considering whether the Soviet desire for representation in West Berlin is intended merely for the purpose of looking after Soviet interests in the Western half of the city or mainly to gain a say in the running of West Berlin affairs, that is a change in status.

The real difficulty is a formal one, however. The Soviet Union's concessions have invariably been framed in such a way as to confirm Moscow's one-sided view of the legal position. The contents are acceptable, the package is not.

Neither the Allies nor the West Germans can afford to jump at Eastern concessions that involve the surrender of fundamental legal positions. This is the major snag of the negotiations.

Either way two drafts have now been submitted. Diplomatic terrain has now been reconnoitred. Talks continue. The Soviet document signalises not the end but the beginning of true negotiations. It is a starting-point not a full stop.

Theo Sommer

(DIE ZEIT, 23 April 1971)

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

China's admission to UN more and more probable

All firmly established governments ought to be admitted to the United Nations, a commission of private individuals set up at the behest of President Nixon recommends.

The US government has promptly published the commission's recommendations, involving UN membership for the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, North Vietnam and North Korea, which would seem to indicate that they have not fallen on deaf ears in the White House.

Not long ago America's UN delegate George Bush announced that the dossier on Chinese membership of the UN has been completed and submitted to the President.

A fundamental change in America's policy on China would thus seem to be only either a matter of time or one of negotiation tactics.

Universality of the United Nations, a topic harped on by Secretary-General U Thant at every opportunity, has accordingly now reached the stage where talk of it being given a definite hearing would appear to be justified.

Groundwork has been laid by the German Federal government in acknowledging, with the Great Powers' blessing, in the Moscow Treaty the inviolability of post-war frontiers in Europe.

UN membership for both German states is indeed the last of Chancellor Willy Brandt's twenty-point programme for practical improvements in relations between Bonn and East Berlin.

As is usually the case, though, the finer points present problems. The Bonn Federal government does not propose to smooth the GDR's path into the United Nations until practical agreement has been reached on improvements in relations between the two German states – as part, that is, of an overall solution.

In East Berlin a diametrically opposed view of the priorities is held, quite apart from the fact that East Berlin will hear nothing of so-called intra-German agreements.

In Peking's case the United States already seems prepared to adopt the two-Chinas theory, but neither Peking nor Taipeh has so far budged an inch on its view that there is only one China, including Formosa, which both governments claim to represent.

And as for North Vietnam and North Korea no one even knows whether they are interested in UN membership or bent on prior reunification of Vietnam and Korea.

The tenacity of diplomatic wrangling on these points is indicated by goings-on in Geneva, where there has been tough bargaining at the UN Economic Commission for Europe over GDR representation at the Prague ECE conference on environmental protection.

The present state of affairs as regards multilateral relations between countries has, incidentally, been ambiguous for some time.

Attendance at international gatherings is still governed by the Vienna formula, designed to counter the claims of the Communist halves of divided countries.

The ruling is that only countries that are either members of a UN organisation or affiliated to the International Court of Justice in The Hague are allowed to send accredited representatives to international conferences.

As far as international agreements are concerned, though, the all-nation clause has been applied since the 1963 Moscow test-ban treaty. According to this ruling any state that considers itself entitled to do so and has diplomatic ties with either Washington, Moscow or London may sign international agreements.

By virtue of having signed the non-proliferation treaty the GDR, for instance, is subject to IAEA inspection without even enjoying observer status at the Vienna atomic energy agency.

For UNO itself the non-membership of such important countries as Red China is growing steadily more intolerable. Unlike the GDR *China* refuses to gain access to the UN via, say, attendance at the Geneva disarmament conference.

An idea currently under discussion in the West is aimed at a one-and-half-China theory whereby the People's Republic would be granted permanent membership of the Security Council with the right of veto and Formosa would remain a normal member of the United Nations.

Pierre Simonitsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 April 1971)

Salt Vienna talks make little progress

Have the Salt talks now ground to a complete halt? All comments about the atmosphere of the strategic arms limitation talks in Vienna, be they ever so well-meant, have been overshadowed by US Defence Secretary Laird's latest unmistakeable warning to the Soviet Union to stop building up missile defences once and for all.

Since the Kremlin is evidently not prepared to change its mind the talks have definitely run aground. Moscow's delegates insist on America abandoning its anti-missile systems in return for the Soviet Union itself foregoing anti-missile arms.

This, though, would leave the door wide open for Soviet SS 9 long-range multiple-warhead missiles already at action stations. America's deterrent potential would be at the Kremlin's mercy.

It is worth bearing in mind that Washington and its Nato partners have always based their strategy on a second strike in reply to a nuclear attack by the other side.

This Soviet view coincides with Moscow's tactics at the Geneva disarmament conference. The Soviet delegation has firmly rejected the British proposals for abolition and a ban on the use of bacteriological weapons and this is clearly what prompted Defence Secretary Laird to issues his warning.

No progress at all is made on a wide front and programmes are delayed in the hope the the other side might show a little good will, yet in the end it is clear that there is still no sign of a thaw in the Kremlin.

No one need doubt that America's *Realpolitik* in Europe will be of importance for the further orientation of its allies. The West should continue to try and bring about a realxation of tension but take into account more critically than ever the extent to which success is achieved. No other approach would be realistic.

The Kremlin is sticking to its missile policy guns. The Salt and Geneva disarmament talks are merely an accompaniment.

Carsten Klenk

(Kieler Nachrichten, 29 April 1971)

France needs time to overcome distrust of supranationality

Time and time again European-minded *Germans feel France's* policy on European integration, particularly in view of General de Gaulle's concept, to be a brake on swifter consolidation, let alone expansion, of the European Economic Community.

A recent lecture by Dr Forsteneicher, deputy chairman of the Franco-Federal Republic Association in Düsseldorf, provided both a clear account of the different political development of the two countries and an interesting explanation of the difference in viewpoint on European integration.

"The Germans and French on the Way to a Pragmatic Europe" was the title of the lecture, a title indicating that with a better understanding of the French mentality people in this country must come to realise that there is no alternative to a pragmatic approach.

After reviewing historic milestones in the development of the European idea from the first Pan-European Congress in 1926 to the Hague summit of 1970 Dr Forsteneicher came to the conclusion that although progress may have been made European integration has yet to be achieved.

"Only the European Coal and Steel Community could be considered a genuine European community, he maintained, the EEC, a giant in fetters, to use Professor Dahrendorf's phrase, being subject, in the final analysis, to national decisions.

France's hesitant approach is largely due to historical differences between France and this country. France set up a unitary nation-state with central administration at an early date, both having been a cardinal principle since 1972 at the latest. This readily accounts for France's mistrust of supranational institutions.

The idea of divided loyalities, national on the one hand and supranational on the other, is, for a Frenchman, hardly conceivable.

The course of German history has been entirely different, bound up with the traditions of the Holy Roman Empire and the idea of coexistence of separate national unite within a larger political framework.

Not even since the foundation of the Reich in 1871 has a nation in the French sense of the word emerged in this country. For reasons of history the idea of supranational sovereignty is quite comprehensible from the German point of view whereas it is difficult and ominous from the French viewpoint.

If uniform convictions are to be a prerequisite a European federation can only be the final stage, and if further progress towards a European economic community is to be made pragmatism as repeatedly advocated by President Pompidou is the only way.

We must realise that this will take time as far as the French are concerned.

(Handelsblatt, 28 April 1971)

No matter what French still value Nato's existence

Ever since General de Gaulle proclaimed his policy of maintaining military independence in 1966, Nato headquarters were transferred from France to Belgium and the French armed forces reverted to French supreme command France's return to Nato's integrated command system has been a popular subject of speculation.

Occasional participation of French warships in major Nato manoeuvres, for instance, invariably leads to a wave of speculation that meets with a perplexed response at the French Defence Ministry.

Even though an annual sensation may be made of it French participation in Nato fleet manoeuvres has remained a matter of course since and despite France's withdrawal from unified Nato command.

A number of observers of the international scene evidently still feel it to be incomprehensible that France can practise solidarity with its allies without establishing a relationship of military dependence that President Pompidou no less than General de Gaulle before him considers to be irreconcilable with national sovereignty.

At no stage has France aimed at isolation from its allies. Paris continues to support the mutual assistance pledges of the North Atlantic Treaty. Coordination to a considerable degree in the event of an emergency follows as a matter of course from the presence of French troops in this country.

As regards the use of strategic nuclear weapons there has long been agreement between France and the allies. Contacts between the French military and the relevant US commands have never been broken off.

Over the next few months France will, it is true, make further progress towards nuclear maturity. Medium-range missiles at sites in south-west France and nuclear submarines will join the Mirage bomber squadrons as strategic nuclear arms carriers and Pluto, the tactical device with which French troops in this country are also to be equipped will enable France to decide independently when to cross the nuclear threshold in a conventional conflict.

France will not be relying on the American nuclear shield because Paris does not feel that European and American interests which may need defending by nuclear means need necessarily coincide for all time. This additional safeguard cannot but benefit the security of Western Europe.

France and Nato's common interest in sounding out details of what may be vital decisions increases in accordance with the military value of French nuclear power. So it is only natural that experts on both sides will be intensifying their contacts over the months to come.

France will probably also be participating in the development of Nato's telecommunications satellite system. Here too there will be no volte-face in French policy, though.

Even since leaving Nato France has maintained cooperation in the telecommunications sector and French participation in Nadge, the Nato early warning network extending from the North Cape to Turkey largely offsets the return of the French air force to national command.

In recent years Soviet policy in Central Europe has contributed towards the abandonment of a number of romantic French ideas of a swift dissolution of military alliances in East and West and American and Canadian attendance at the European security conference proposed by Moscow has come to be a sine que non of French policy.

Contacts between France and Nato have naturally profited from this revaluation of American presence in Europe. The salvoes levelled by French Communists at solidarity with Paris's allies make it seem likely that the Kremlin harbours no illusions about the earnest in which France takes its membership of the North Atlantic pact.

Klaus Huwe

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 23 April 1971)

■ FEDERAL STATE AFFAIRS

Parties take stock after Schleswig-Holstein election

The spotlight beamed on the Schleswig-Holstein elections has been dimmed and the contesting parties are taking stock of the situation.

They will find that the elections to the Provincial Assembly of this northern Federal state have scarcely lessened their greatest worries.

This is also true of the Christian Democrats even though they have every right to rejoice after their impressive election victory.

The pressing question of who is to become the party's prospective Chancellor has still not been solved – even after the Schleswig-Holstein elections.

Deputy Party Chairman Gerhard Stoltenberg, the new Prime Minister in Schleswig-Holstein, can point out that he was the first Christian Democrat to obtain an absolute majority for his party in the Federal state but that is irrelevant to the leadership issue. For the next four years Stoltenberg's place is Kiel and not in Bonn.

The CDU's impressive victory in Schleswig-Holstein has no direct influence on the government in Bonn, apart from the unpredictable psychological effects.

The composition of the Bundesrat remains the same and the Coalition of Social and Free Democrats will be as little affected by the Kiel result as it has been by the eight other Federal state elections held since the Coalition was formed in 1969.

The CDU knows that the great battle for leadership in the Federal Republic will not be fought *until 1973* and realises that victory in a Federal state election offers no guarantee of victory in the Bundestag elections.

The SPD's biggest problem is the strained relations between the majority of the party, the pragmatists, and its left wing, the ideologically inflexible old-time and Young Socialists.

This problem has not been lessened by the election, let alone solved. Joachim Steffen, the representative of the left wing of the party, did not achieve his goal in the election, it is true, but he did not do so badly that the party could feel justified in ostracising its left wing.

Steffen, like Dröscher in the Rhineland Palatinate, showed that confirmed Socialists can increase the SPD's vote.

The Social Democrats have never done as well in elections to the Provincial Assemblies of these Federal states as they have under Dröscher and Steffen.

But, unlike Wilhelm Dröscher, Steffen did not manage to improve on the SPD vote recorded in the Bundestag elections. Instead he lost 2.3 per cent – the "Schiller voters" as some of his party colleagues maliciously claim.

After these elections Willy Brandt and Herbert Wehner will certainly not find it any easier to halt the trend toward polarisation in the SPD. This trend is strongest in the Berlin branch of the party.

But they also realise that this problem cannot be solved by disparaging, gagging or expelling the left-wing of the party – and this group includes a large section of the SPD's young members.

The trend towards ideology or, to put it more objectively, the wish for practical action to have an ideological basis has been observed for some time now in our pluralistic society and cannot be ignored by the political parties if they want to retain their position.

It is their purpose to integrate party members inclining to follow trends of this type and prevent the formation of extremist groups.

Of course it must be stated clearly that tolerance and freedom of opinion within a democratic party must be limited when members adopt undemocratic beliefs, act in an unparliamentary way or even pursue unconstitutional aims. Demarcation is important here.

The vote for the National Democrats (NPD) and the Communist Party (DKP) *in Schleswig-Holstein as in other Federal* states beforehand shows that our two large parties are successfully performing their function of integration – at least as far as binding voters to democratic parties is concerned.

In Schleswig-Holstein, a state where the poor social structure could be thought of as a breeding-ground of extremism, the NPD and DKP have almost disappeared.

The Free Democrats are as perplexed after these elections as they were before. In the Rhineland Palatinate they were voted out of the Provincial Assembly after committing themselves to a coalition with the Christian Democrats.

In Schleswig-Holstein they failed to win a seat after stating that their only possible course was a coalition with the Social Democrats.

Admittedly, the FDP defeat in Schleswig-Holstein followed a split in the party. The right-wing of the party, led by the Federal state's former Minister of Finance, called upon supporters to vote for the CDU.

But the Free Democrats' calculations in the Rhineland Palatinate and Schleswig-Holstein did not prove correct. If there is any chance of survival in the future, this is certainly not to be achieved by rigidly committing the FDP to one of the two large parties or by carrying out a purge or consolidation process as is currently happening in Schleswig-Holstein.

If the Free Democrats wish to halt the trend toward a two-party system they must tolerate a variety of opinions within their ranks – like good liberals.

Peter Jochen Winters

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 April 1971)



Gerhard Stoltenberg, CDU leader in Schleswig-Holstein, after his electoral victory (Photo: ...)

State reorganisation urgent



The reorganisation of Federal states laid down by Basic Law is gradually coming to resemble a party game. After Hesse made its own proposals that did not find favour with its neighbours, so many plans are now available that the commission responsible for re-drawing the boundaries will find it difficult to find a common denominator.

As this commission has been appointed to find an overall plan for the whole of the Federal Republic it will have to consider all proposals as a number contradict each other.

Depending on the nature of the completed overall plan, there will be such great political opposition in the various Federal states that no politician wishing to retain the voters' favour will be able to accept unconditionally.

But this is basically wrong. Local changes have shown that the man in the street reacts more sensibly than politicians. Even large administrative ... which he may first have opposed ... accepted after the advantages are seen.

The circumstances surrounding the formation of Greater Bonn may have ... unfortunate but the new city is ... extraordinary vitality and cooperation between previously hostile administrations is proving more and more successful.

This will be different in the ... Main area for example where most residents have lived all their lives in ... locality and feel a close tie to Bavaria. But it is now more than ten years ... the inhabitants of this area last voted ... which Federal state they should belong to.

Speedy reorganisation would be ... fied if it ended the unprofitable ... resulting from the annual battle about financial settlements to be paid by the rich Federal states to their poorer neighbours.

Martin Sc...

(Kieler Nachrichten, 24 April 1971)

Parliamentary Club celebrates twentieth anniversary

On 1 April 1951 members of the first Bundestag in Bonn met to set up a Parliamentary Club, though few of those present on that occasion realised how important this body would be in years to come.

The three largest parties in the Bundestag has decided to establish a place outside the Bundestag where members of the various parties could meet and also come into contact with their foreign colleagues.

Fostering international relations was particularly important at the beginning of the fifties as the Federal Republic was not a member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union whose main function is to establish contacts between all the parliaments in the world.

At this time the Bundestag met in makeshift accommodation at the College of Education and had no room of its own available for social events.

Faced by this distressing situation, members of the Bundestag decided to set up a parliamentary society, elected a board, rented four rooms of a Bonn hotel and sent out their first invitations to members of foreign parliaments.

In the course of time two concepts mentioned in the opening speech of former Reichstag President Paul Löbe – tradition and atmosphere – came to characterise this initially provisional body in its development into a social centre for parliament and ministries.

Countess Werthern soberly describes ... liamentary Club's business manager, played a not inconsiderable role in this development. Thanks to her initiative, the organisation's 335 members now have their own building for official and unofficial events.

The set-up is reminiscent of an English club. There are several reception rooms, a restaurant, a library and cosy drawing-rooms serving as television, chess and reading rooms. As a place of contact the Parliamentary Club has long become one of the centres of parliamentary life in Bonn.

At the beginning of April politicians and diplomats gathered in the Parliamentary Club to celebrate its twentieth anniversary.

Chancellor Willy Brandt, Bundestag President Kai-Uwe von Hassel, a large number of Bundestag members and the heads of eighteen diplomatic missions ... accepted invitations to attend the celebration.

Countess Werthern was awarded the Federal Order of Merit in the name of the President in recognition of the work she had done for the Parliamentary Club.

Countess Werthern soberly describes herself as an official and sees the Club she runs as a sort of traditional political ... adapted to the needs and demands of the present age.

The younger generation are particularly enthusiastic about this parliamentary institution that is probably unique. Of 120 members who did not enter the Bundestag until 1969 – after the ... recent election – ninety have also joined the Parliamentary Club.

"We recently had to provide ... rooms because of increased demand," the Countess said, adding, "The best rooms of the Parliamentary Club are now ... found in the basement extension." She has often been amused on seeing the look of shock on visitors' faces when ... to the "cellar" for the first time.

There is still enough space in the Parliamentary Club for private meetings and hours of contemplation as well as official events, ministerial receptions, lecture evenings and round table talks. Members of the Bundestag will continue to find here the home they need.

(Das Parlament, 24 April 1971)

■ POLITICS

The Socialist Unity Party –unity through suppression

DIE WELT

Twenty-five years ago, on 21 and 22 April 1946, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) was officially founded by three former Reichstag deputies of the Weimar Republic – Social Democrat Otto Grotewohl and Communists Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht.

The party's birth was marked by a Walter Ulbricht slogan and a tactical move that had been developed in the Soviet Union – the creation of a bloc system.

Ulbricht was one of the group of German Communists who had been smuggled back to Berlin from exile in Moscow at the end of April 1945 while the battle for the city was still being fought.

He was indisputably the most skilful strategist of the take-over period and issued a slogan for the formation of new administrative organs – everything must appear to be democratic but at least one key position in two must be occupied by a Communist.

The first task of the Communists in the Soviet Military Administration of Germany was to form a bloc of all "anti-Fascist and democratic forces" and the four new parties that had been permitted – the Communists (KPD), Social Democrats (SPD), Christian Democrats (CDU) and Liberal Democrats (LDPD).

The *same formula* as in Soviet-occupied Germany was applied in the whole of the new Russian sphere from Poland and Czechoslovakia to Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The stated aim was always a People's Democracy – a political term for which we have to thank Russian victories in Eastern, Central and South-Eastern Europe in 1945 – or the first stage on the road to Communism.

This entailed the formation of a political bloc, the first steps towards confiscation and nationalisation, land reform, partial or complete elimination of private enterprise, the expropriation of key industries and banks, the ending of what Communist jargon defines as formal parliamentarianism and its replacement by real democracy under the rule of the party representing the workers and peasants.

The People's Democracy did not involve the elimination of all other parties in the bloc committed to progress as long as they were willing to follow the SED.

The most important development all over Europe was the fusion of the Communist Party with the numerically stronger Social Democratic or Socialist party. The wishes of most of the members were not taken into consideration.

The SED in Soviet-occupied Germany, the 1945 National Front in Czechoslovakia and the 1945 Patriotic Front in Bulgaria are typical examples of bloc formations where the Communist Party, whatever its name, claimed the leading role.

In Poland the pro-Russian Lublin government set up in 1944 and 1945 was a bloc of four parties – Communists, Peasants, Socialists and Democrats.

Events here proceeded more slowly than in Germany. This, along with the fact that the Farmers' Party seemed at first to be winning the struggle for power in Hungary with its policy of land reform and that the King of Rumania stayed in his country from 1944 to 1947 thus giving symbolic support to the agrarian, democratic, liberal majority, irritated Moscow but did not stop the Russian leaders from tenaciously pursuing their ultimate aims.

Apart from Yugoslavia where Tito established a people's democracy during armed uprisings against the occupying German and Italian forces, these regimes were not set up after a period of revolution but under the direct pressure of the Russian occupying forces.

Parliamentary majorities were no longer important. The Communists, in a minority, thought it necessary to link themselves with Socialists or Social Democrats – their brother parties as they claimed – but only to gain top officials who were willing to capitulate.

Otto Grotewohl, Wilhelm Pieck (right) and Walter Ulbricht (left) at the negotiations to unite the East Berlin Social Democrats and the Communists in 1946 (Photo: AP)

When the SPD was re-formed in the Soviet Zone of Occupation on 15 June 1945 the party's manifesto remembered its old dreams of a popular front and promised to cooperate with the KPD that had been set up four days earlier.

The occupying power ensured that the wishes of the majority of the members were not taken into consideration in either the Soviet Zone or Poland.

Walter Ulbricht, now Chairman of the Council of State in the SED regime in the German Democratic Republic, can claim to have staged the first patent example of a fusion between the Communist Party and the Social Democrats.

Bulgaria followed the same year after a controlled plebiscite led to the end of the monarchy, Rumania at the end of 1947 after young King Michael had been persuaded to abdicate and Hungary in 1948 and 1949.

Czechoslovakia fell in February 1948 after the Communists had taken over the most decisive positions in the government.

It was not until the end of 1948 that Poland received its Polish United Workers Party after the Socialists had been forced to merge with the Communists.

The way to unity was everywhere marked by terror, bloodshed and tears. The Social Democrats were the victims of Communism.

That is what makes the SED's 25th anniversary far more important than any other event in modern post-war history.

Of all the architects of the united party system only two, Ulbricht and the old Polish Socialist and now head of state Josef Cyrankiewicz have survived the long march from the late forties to office.

Walter Görlitz

(DIE WELT, 21 April 1971)

Wall deaths

Since the building of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961 at least 152 people have been killed in the attempt to scale the blocks and barbed wire and escape to the West, according to Bonn government spokesman Conrad Ahlers.

The Cabinet, he announced, dealt in a recent session with the latest arrests by GDR authorities, refusals to allow travellers to cross the GDR to and from West Berlin and incidents at border crossing points.

The government, Herr Ahlers continued, will not hesitate to unmask inhumanity for what it is but also feels that protests alone are not enough.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 23 April 1971)

Walter Ulbricht – the last of the SED founder members

The Socialist Unity Party (SED) is an excellent example of the way that the history of a party can be read from the fate of its founder members.

There is no need to descend to all the local party branches and groups that formed the SED 25 years ago and examine them with a fine tooth-comb.

It is enough to look at the fate of the members of the SED's first Central Secretariat, the later Politburo, to discover the whole history of the party.

The Central Secretariat elected in April 1946 at the congress uniting the Communist and Social Democratic parties consisted of fourteen people – seven Social Democrats and seven Communists.

There were two people in every post. Chairman Wilhelm Pieck had Otto Grotewohl at his side, Communist Walter Ulbricht had Social Democrat Max Fechner, cadre chief Franz Dahlem had Social Democrat Erich Gniffke and so on.

It is well-known that the Communists soon outplayed the Social Democrats with the help of the occupying power. But it has generally been forgotten that all the Social Democrats with the exception of Otto Grotewohl disappeared from the party leadership when the Communist Politburo was resurrected after the SED was reformed into a "new type of party."

Of the seven Social Democrats on the first Central Secretariat only Grotewohl died a quasi-honourable political death. All the other Social Democrats had to surrender their positions to Communists after the second or third party congress.

The fate of the departing Social Democrats is significant. Max Fechner, Walter Ulbricht's co-pilot had the worst time of it. He became Minister of Justice and was arrested in 1953 as an enemy of the State and the Party because he had stated that the strike during the June uprising was not unconstitutional.

He was not released from prison for three years. The "enemy" was readmitted to the party and he now lives on the normal monthly party pension of one thousand Marks.

Some of the other Social Democrat members of the first SED Central Secretariat met with a better fate. Otto Meier, Helmut Lehmann and Käthe Kern all lost



their political power but were able to draw their party pension.

One Social Democrat publically broke with the SED – Erich Gniffke. In October 1948 he fled to the Federal Republic where his memoirs *Years with Ulbricht* appeared a year after his death.

This book contains the letter he wrote breaking with the SED. His verdict was the verdict of many of the Social Democrats who helped to found the party: "In 1932 the Communist Party under Ulbricht fought against a democratic police force. The "new-type" party under the same leadership is fighting with a People's Police to destroy all democratic rights."

The fate of some of the Communists on the first Central Secretariat was not much better. Anton Ackermann was highly praised in the early months of the party's history for his theory of the German way to Socialism and even retained his position on the Central Committee after the theory was condemned.

But in 1953 he was expelled from the Committee because of his support for the Zaisser-Herrnstadt group and given a position in the country's bureaucracy. Today he lives as a party veteran with no political influence even though he is twelve years younger than Ulbricht.

Franz Dahlem's fate was similar. Elli Schmidt, the only female Communist in the first Central Secretariat, became the head of a fashion institute after being expelled from the Central Committee because of her opposition to Ulbricht.

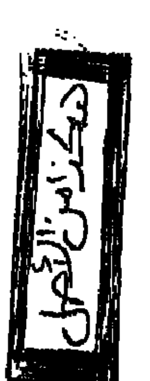
Paul Merker, who headed the Department of Labour with Social Democrat August Karsten in the first Central Secretariat, shared the fate of the Social Democrat Max Fechner.

He was expelled from the party in 1950 as a "tool of the class enemy," arrested two years later as an enemy agent and not released from prison for four years. He then worked as a waiter and died the first chairman of a local branch of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship.

Of the fourteen members of the first Central Secretariat, half are still alive but only one remains in office – Walter Ulbricht.

Walter Osten

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 23 April 1971)



■ WRITING & WRITERS

Pen Club conference in Nuremberg

The times when the PEN Club could be called an old man's association and its annual general meeting a leisurely afternoon tea seem to be past. The 1971 meeting showed that speakers went straight to the point.

Heinrich Böll, the President of the Federal Republic PEN Centre, said at the meeting in Nuremberg: "If you read the PEN Charter you will see that the PEN Club cannot be political enough." He added that the charter did not only concern writers.

But first of all who was there and who was not? The meeting was attended by 74 of the 312 members including Böll himself – he has just finished writing a new novel entitled *Gruppenbild mit Dame* – Hermann Kesten, Reinhard Baumgart, Axel Eggebrecht, Dieter Lattmann, Max von der Grün, old Kurt Pinthus. theatre director Harry Buckwith and Adolf Frisé.

It was also attended by Peter de Mendelssohn, newly-resident in Munich after living in London and after being commissioned to write a biography of Thomas Mann in time for the hundredth anniversary of his birth.

Among publishers present were Härtling, Unseld, Piper and DuMont among others.

Among those not attending were Günter Grass, who had promised to analyse the periodical *konkret*, Siegried Lenz, Karl Krolow and Günter Wallraff.

The official part of the meeting was dealt with first. Petru Dumitriu, Tankred Dorst, Peter Demetz, Gisela Elsner, Käte Hamburger, Ernst Herhaus, Walther Killy and Renate Rasp were included in the list of new members.

It was also attended by Peter de Mendelssohn, newly-resident in Munich after living in London and being commissioned to write a biography of Thomas Mann in time for the hundredth anniversary of his birth.

As soon as the membership formalities were over, the congress decided what subjects should be discussed at the next annual general meeting. Delegates proposed the Olympic Games and nationalism, the author and his problems and the strangulation of literature by mergers and monopolies.

A resolution was then passed to elect a permanent committee to observe the administration of justice in the Federal Republic paying special attention to cases involving politics or having a political background.

At the same time it was decided to grant this committee full powers to act on behalf of the PEN Centre wherever freedom of opinion seemed to be threatened by trials in the Federal Republic and where the PEN Club should state its position as soon as possible.

The reason given for this resolution was the differing treatment given to a number of cases raising doubts as to the question of fairness and justness.

PEN members were indignant about the way that criticism of the Sonnemann-Strauss case had been gagged, the rejection of complaints concerning the Beate Klarsfeld case, the vindictive verdict in the Fritz Teufel trial and the formal legal protection granted to a writer like Kurt Ziesel in his reationary attacks on authors such as Luise Rinser, Bernt Engelmann and Günter Grass.

There was also criticism about what PEN members described as the incomprehensible magnanimity of the law toward war criminals and their right-hand men. Recent cases such as the Kurras trial were also mentioned.



Heinrich Böll (left), Schwab Felisch and Thilo Koch (right), secretary-general of PEN, at the Nuremberg conference. (Photo: dpa)

The resolution was not unanimous though. Marcel Reich-Ranicki objected to the fact that it had been composed in such a hurry. There were also objections to "formal legal protection" or "vindictive" and to the mention of Kurt Ziesel. Horst Bingel claimed that this was only making "this nobody" seem more important than he was.

The meeting reached a spectacular climax in the debate on pornography. Gerhard Zwerenz mentioned all the headlines he had seen about the subject and concluded that it was unconsidered judgements and idle talk that was really pornographic. He warned delegates not to overestimate the effects and extent of pornography.

Werner Ross, "our only conservative" as PEN secretary-general Thilo Koch remarked ironically, courageously demanded the preservation of taboos. If women started to say "shit" in good society, then the word "shit" would lose all its meaning and justification, he said.

But, he added, that was not the concern of the State or the law but of morals and society. "When pornography is banned, it goes underground," he said.

Hermann Kesten, now over seventy years old and incidentally the only member of the PEN Club from Nuremberg, was far more argumentative than his colleagues.

He claimed that legislation concerning sex crimes had legalised oppression. It persecuted whichever sex was the weakest, normally women, and sexual and religious minorities.

It punished poverty and human nature, he said, adding that even an erect penis reminded dictators of an uprising of the people.

Kesten reintroduced the old problem that it was difficult to define exactly what pornography was. The boundaries are hazy, he said. "James Joyce was once banned for adults," he added, "but today he is read at schools."

Alexander Mitscherlich differentiated between aggressive and non-aggressive pornography, between books fostering destructive and homicidal tendencies and books by literary whores. He thought that the first category should be banned. "Society has a right to do this," he said.

Heinrich Böll attacked the "hypocrisy of the liberators" – the fact that pornography does not mention the fate of prostitutes and that young people enter a sexual rat-race where they are conscious of their own limits.

The result was that more and more people had to consult psychiatrists. He also pointed to the hypocrisy of Church and State which participated in pornography and prostitution through the … they raised.

The congress hall was full to bursting point and police had to turn people away. But despite the enormous interest the following discussion was poor. Perhaps the PEN Club did not do the right thing in choosing this subject?

Böll defended the choice: "I found it necessary to deal with this subject, not ignore it altogether. The speeches have made members think."

At the end of the meeting two working committees submitted their findings. The first had investigated literature and the market.

Ingeborg Drewitz supplied statistics to show literature's current lack of [illegible]. But the three publishers – Peter Härtling of S. Fischer, Siegfried Unseld of Suhrkamp and Heinz Friedrich of dtv surprised other PEN members when they energetically denied this claim.

They admitted that literature could not be planned with as great a degree of certainty as sales of non-fiction and that more and more novels had to appear in paperback because of difficulties on the market. But, they said, literature was not on the decline.

The second committee dealt with literature, labour and the class struggle, concluding that wage-earners and employers both needed literature about the world of work. There was however a lack of this type of book as publishers disapproved of such works, the working party found.

The trades unions had not done anything to improve the situation. Publications such as the magazine sponsored by the metalworkers' union soon stopped printing articles like Günter Wallraff's critical reports on the industrial situation.

The Nuremberg congress showed that this country's PEN Centre has all but changed its spots and indicated future trends. But now all activities are directed toward the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the International PEN Club to be held in Dublin this September.

Ulrich Schnapp

(DIE WELT, 19 April 1971)

Shakespeare research has bright future

Friedrich Gundolf was almost prophetic in 1911 when he analysed the malaise caused by the influence of Shakespeare on the German spirit in his book *Shakespeare and the German Spirit* that went back as far as Lessing's time.

Referring to Schlegel's translations of Shakespeare, Gundolf wrote, "They ended an age in the history of Shakespeare as an influence on the German spirit. What follows is the history of Shakespeare as part of the German theatre, German reading and German production."

Following Gundolf's lead, it would be easy to lament Shakespeare productions in this country if it were not for the fact that the root of this evil lay in an aspect of the German spirit that he revealed.

After the prose translations of Wieland and Eschenburg in the 1760s and 1770s Shakespeare in Germany is nothing other than a deification of the Schlegel-Tieck translations.

Since 1800 Germany has known its Shakespeare as an example of the literary harmony of the Goethe period, a sober, non-revolutionary language for literary types described by Heinrich Marx in a letter to his son Karl in 1836.

"People who take pleasure in such literary company," Marx senior wrote, "are educated people and have a better idea of their value as an exemplary citizen of the future."

The literary haze emanating from the Weimar of the Goethe period has obscured Shakespeare's work in Germany right up to the present day and it seems to be an irony of fate that the move to make research into Shakespeare more relevant and political also came from Weimar.

This move in 1963 finally led to the German Shakespeare Society being split into two sections – one for the Federal Republic and one for the German Democratic Republic.

Since then, the four hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth and the centenary of the Shakespeare Society, the Western section has led a miserable existence.

It has lacked the drive given to the Hölderlin Society in Düsseldorf in 1968 when Pierre Bertaux made the provocative statement that the colour red was missing from the German picture of Hölderlin. It was as if German research was colour-blind where red was concerned, he said.

At this year's Shakespeare Society congress in Bochum Professor Helmut Viebrock of Frankfurt quoted Adorno and the dialectic of aesthetic autonomy and a *fait social* governing a work of art.

But his speech and the meeting showed that Shakespeare research in this country has scarcely passed the stage it was at when August Wilhelm Schlegel defined the theatrical perspective of the Bard's dramas and has scarcely reached the stage of Hegel and Marx.

Goethe once described the aura emanating from Shakespeare as a magic lantern that, he states as early as the original version of *Wilhelm Meister*, has no other purpose than to justify the self-sufficiency of a work of art in the face of the demands of society. But this false Shakespearean aura now seems to be paling.

Ulrich Suerbaum, the English literature expert from Bochum, criticised the modern Shakespeare translators like …ter, Schröder, Rothe and Schaller for perpetuating the poetic harmony of Schlegel and Tieck.

This sounded like a veiled contradiction of the Adorno quote from his colleague Professor Viebrock even though he did not agree with Adorno's description of art as a subversive movement against society.

But Suerbaum's remark that even had the Shakespeare translation it… ed sounded almost revolutionary at Bochum.

The prose translations of Shakespeare's dramas currently being carried out by teams in Bochum and Basle are to be continued. In view of the hierarchical system of universities here, this seems to herald better times for Shakespeare in this country.

Ulrich Schreiber

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 April 1971)

■ THE ARTS

The Western – power for good or evil?

Whodunits have got the Western novel beat and tales of romance are more popular, too. But the cowboy and Indian saga is in third place, about half as popular as the Agatha Christies, Edgar Wallaces and Earl Stanley Gardners of this world.

For devotees of statistics the ratio is 57:46:28. Next in line come tales of adventure, humorous books, futuristic works, military tales and finally strip-cartoon books.

These facts and figures have been prepared by the Ludwig Uhland Institute at Tübingen University and the Tübingen Association for Popular Studies in a survey conducted under the rubric "The Wild West Novel and its Place in the Federal Republic."

The writer of the report is Jens-Ulrich Davids, a student studying with Tübingen folklore expert Hermann Bausinger.

Westerns have always been – unlike the hotly disputed *Krimi* – an offspring of the expert. It was only after the Second World War that experts in this country began to sit up and take notice of the cowboy and Indian saga.

Each week between 400,000 and 500,000 Wild West storybooks are printed comprising eight to ten series. It is generally reckoned that on average each one printed is read by five different people! So over two million people are reached by the industry.

Nevertheless Westerns are only ten per cent of the weekly output of comics and it seems *that their* future is in some doubt. Publishers freely admit that sci-fi has taken over a large proportion of the Western market. Space travel has made much sci-fi science reality and this has help to boost these tales of imagination.

Herr Davids reckons: "Crime stories are in vogue and science fiction has earnt the reputation of being something more *elevated*."

But he warns against the assumption that Westerns are for the simple-minded and that they are something more primitive than other types of comic.

He states that Westerns are read by all types of people and they are only slightly less popular among the "snobs" than among the "plebs." The main age-group reading these periodicals is the sixteen to twenty bracket. They are followed by the eleven to fifteens.

If reading comics is not after all a vice of the lower classes there must be other reasons for its popularity than a lack of education. In prime position is the dearth of entertainment particularly for the young and the key word "excitement."

But – Herr Davids says – this is nothing more than finding a name for the magic appeal of these comics. There *must*, he says, be some reason why a person who is not perchance a psychologist cannot give any reason why he reads the books he does.

But the theses put forward by the psychologists are contradictory. Some are of the opinion that reading comics leads to a sublimation of basic human urges by providing a surrogate. The reader is carried away from his own humdrum world by a fictional world that seems to be much more exciting than what he is used to.

We must realise and accept that those who regularly read Western fiction are filled with these basic urges perhaps to a greater extent than others.

Other psychologists take the point of view that those who are devotees of the Western novel or comic subconsciously identify themselves with the hero and imagine themselves to be like him, brutal, cold-blooded and filled with a blood lust; they feel that such a person goes through changes and approves of bloodcurdling that he would not previously have approved.

His reaction to the Western is aggression.

What are we to deduce from these contradictory opinions? That Western comics, like Western films, simply confirm tendencies that were already in their devotees and that they do not give rise to aggression unless aggressive tendencies were already there?

Jens-Ulrich Davids opines: "Obviously it depends on the individual reader what his actual reaction to reading these works is. There are for example extremely peaceable types who see a bloodthirsty film and remain peaceable afterwards or who learn to be more peaceable because of it."

Heroes in the Western are all similar. They have an athletic build which is broken down in descriptions to the simple formula of "broad in the shoulder and narrow at the hip."

Their faces are always hard and manly, weatherbeaten with eyes that are cool, bright, dark, soft, hard or in some other way fascinating. In order to break up the monotony the heroes are given special characteristics of some kind by which the one can be distinguished from the other.

This amounts to carrying an extra-large colt on the left hip, or to wearing all white, or to wearing a mask all the time.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Others are lefthanded and no less than three of the most popular are constantly accompanied by a wolfhound.

Western heroes all have special capabilities which mark them out from the common man and these are widely differing. They can follow trails as good as any injun, some are qualified doctors, others have potential as sleuths, most can ride a horse like the wind and they can all shoot fast and true.

They are not dilettantes at these skills. They possess them in mind-boggling proportions. Every confrontation could lead to a duel to the death which means that the Western hero has the power over life and death rather like a god.

James Bond had to be given his licence to kill specially by his author, but it goes without saying that the Western hero possesses the right to kill as long as he kills in the cause of what is right and just.

The second elementary faculty which every Western heartthrob must have is an ability in unarmed combat. This is not so much a matter of life and death as a question of prestige. When it comes to fisticuffs the baddie suddenly becomes a physical giant, better endowed by Nature than even the Western hero. Thus the hero's ultimate, inevitable victory becomes even greater since he has battled against the odds.

Nor does the goodie ever seek out a scrap for his own sake. He is not driven on by a bloodlust but a sense of justice. Very often the motive for all his actions is vengeance.

The hero starts off as an outlaw; he is accused of robbery or killing his parents; so *he leaps on to his horse in order to* clear his name and bring the real culprit(s) to justice. In more than half of the Westerns the hero has to clear his name of a false charge.

"Does this mean," Herr Davids asks, "that the goodies of this world are often ignored or just not recognised? Does it mean that the reader often considers himself misunderstood?"

Western goodies rarely do anything for money.

The Western makes two demands on women. They must be one hundred per cent virgins and one hundred per cent feminine! Their place is in the home with the family. If they strike out for emancipation this is considered unfeminine activity which impedes marriageability.

Apparent tomboyishness with ranchers' wives leaping into the saddle, riding and shooting, always ends with the woman being tamed and brought to the altar. Generally speaking friendship between men is highly rated and the hero acts as if he is impotent.

Finally Herr Davids mentions the political aspects of the Western saga. It is reactionary and undemocratic! It depicts a world in which freedom is all apparent but unreal. All freedom is the freedom of the strongest to hold his own against the weakest.

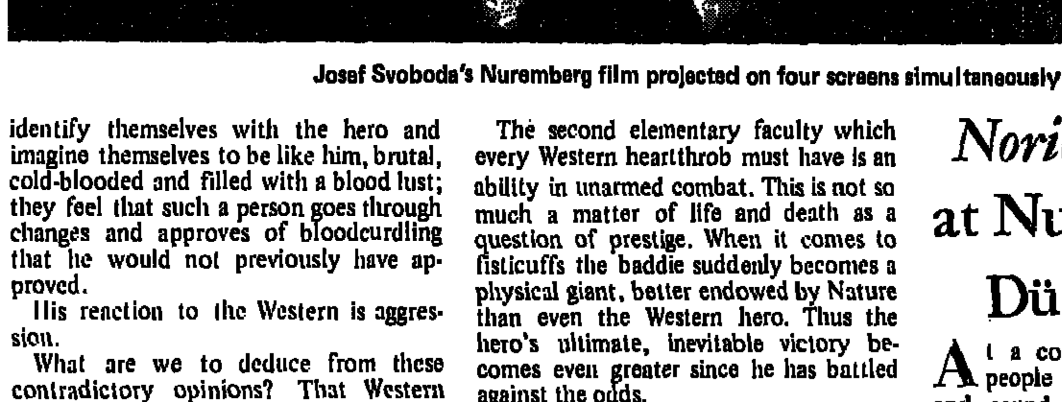
There are double standards. The goodie may kill but the baddie must not, which means basic intolerance. The ruling classes, those who hold all rights and powers, are in command of the executive classes.

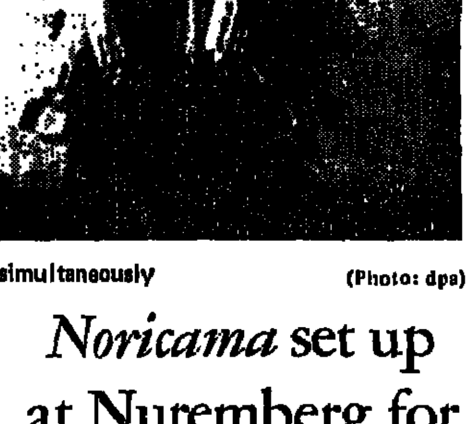
Those who stand accused have no advocate. Judgment is passed on them from the outset: guilty.

Readers are not recommended to be critical. They are called on to uphold the powers-that-be. Every happy-ending is a confirmation of the haves. The causes of evil are veiled.

Gerhard Welse

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 April 1971)





Josef Svoboda's Nuremberg film projected on four screens simultaneously (Photo: dpa)

Noricama set up at Nuremberg for Dürer festival

At a cost of 1,600,000 Marks the people of Nuremberg set up the film and sound spectacular *Noricama* in the imperial stables at their castle. This was billed as "Nuremberg in multi-vision, the symphony of a city on film, in sound and in movement."

The length of the *Noricama* presentation is said to be fifteen minutes by the technicians responsible for it, but the *city's press officer begs to differ, saying it* lasts for just thirteen minutes. The advertising prospectuses make it even shorter:

"With *Noricama* you will get to know Nuremberg in ten minutes, better than many of its citizens have come to know it in a lifetime."

The design for *Noricama* is the work of the Czech scenic designer Josef Svoboda, who has already used his multiscreen system of moving projection surfaces in the Czech pavilions at the Brussels and Montreal international exhibitions.

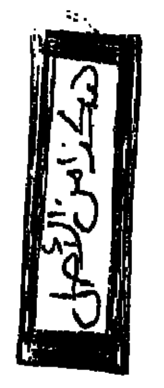
For *Noricama* Josef Svoboda expanded this system, now employing ten projectors on four hydraulically operated folding screens and five movable projection surfaces, each four metres in height and 175 centimetres wide mounted on transporters of about eleven metres in length.

This trip through one thousand years of Nuremberg history viewing one thousand faces of the city takes just ten minutes – this means beginning at the beginning with the first chronicled mention of the city of Nuremberg. This was in the year *1050* when *Emperor Henry III* was on the way to Hungary and freed one of his bondmen, Sigena by name, on the site of the present Nuremberg.

This is the Albrecht Dürer anniversary year and so *Noricama* begins with the Dürer self-portrait from Munich's Alte Pinakothek and a collage of aerial views of the city's traffic including Dürer's grave in St John's cemetery. It takes in the epitaph: "All the mortal remains of Albrecht Dürer lie here under this hill" and applies it to the state of the city and the ruins of the older part after the "night of the apocalypse" in January 1945. This was the night in which "the Reich treasury" was engulfed in a flood of flame.

But now the city lives again! Busily the folding screens of the *Noricama* presenta-

Continued on page 8



■ EDUCATION

Youth-run clubs prove popular in Berlin

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Unfortunately the whole thing was a terrible flop," the head of the recreation centre reported. He had wanted to show visitors ways in which they could enjoy themselves and organised a "really nice party" with games and snacks as a contrast to the weekly visit to a beat club.

"There is no point on relying on *people's good behaviour*," he said afterwards. The first boys and girls at the cold buffet took such large helpings that later arrivals found little more than scraps waiting for them.

"And they played football with the olives," he adds indignantly.

This report came from a survey of 28 youth recreation centres in Berlin. Dance clubs had been set up one after another at these centres, posing serious problems for the youth welfare authorities.

Educationalists were happy that young working people had left the street corner to visit the leisure centres. But the young people did not want to arrange their leisure time sensibly as the educationalists would have wished. It was only the dancing that attracted them. But their initiative was unlimited if only they were offered the opportunity.

The report on the Berlin survey states: "*The success and skill of these seventeen*, eighteen and twenty-year-old young managers who invited other people of their own age to a dance week after week was looked upon sceptically by the educationalists, though not without a touch of admiration and envy."

Overnight the heads of the recreation centres became club advisers who kept in the background. The only reason in many cases why relations between the dance club and the recreation centre head did not become tense is that the educationalists saved their position by fully identifying themselves with the club.

Klaus, a 23-year-old student of German, is head of a club of this type but he also considers himself as the real head of the recreation centre. He proudly led his visitors through the rooms and showed them all the things his club had bought.

When all expenses have been met, he is left with a weekly profit of at least two hundred Marks. This money has been used to convert the cellar into a fully-equipped office, an elegant conference room and a trendy bar.

Klaus works together with a seventeen-year-old electrician and a nineteen-year-old convent schoolgirl for whom the clubrooms provide a welcome difference to conditions at home.

The young workers and apprentices who work for their club at the recreation centre fifteen or more hours a week obviously look upon the group as a substitute family.

The club provides a place of possible consolation for people who have not so far had any success in their job or any personal happiness.

The report of the survey has been published by Juventa Verlag of Munich entitled *In Jugendklubs und Tanzlokalen*. The authors of the report, C. W. Müller and Peter Nimmermann, emphatically reject the idea of "preventive education".

This may have led to more understanding for the stresses facing young people, the authors claim, but it really serves the adult society's need for peace and quiet and sacrifices young people's interests to it.

"The wholesome atmosphere of the dances organised by the youth welfare authorities is in line with the moderation expected of youth by society in all fields open to adults and runs contrary to the wishes of adolescents," the authors report.

"Today boys and girls are becoming physically adult at an age when Franz Schubert was still singing in a boy's choir. Apprentices and schoolchildren normally have amounts of money that make their parents green with envy," say the two Berlin educationalists.

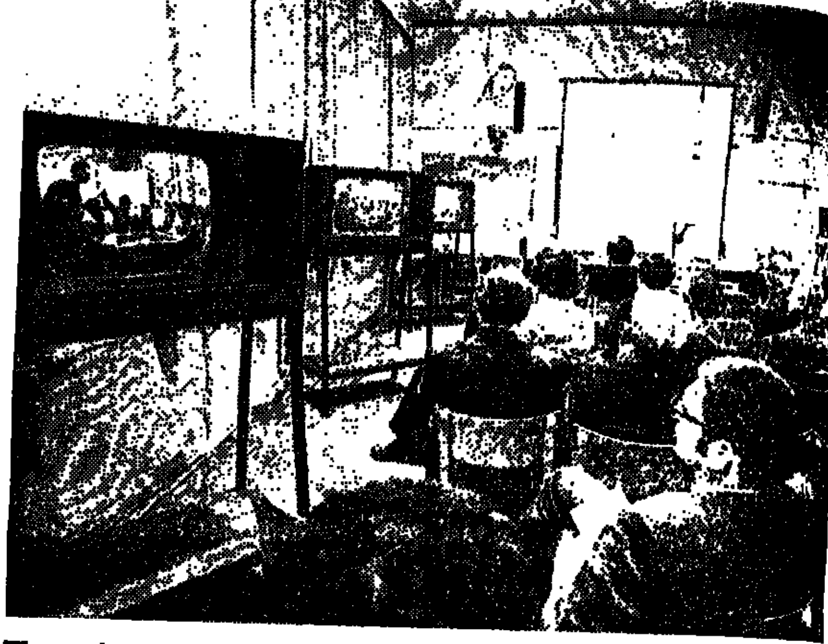
Müller and Nimmermann find that the really surprising thing about the club is its independence and the self-confident way in which it is run.

They claim that this has an important educational function. Organising the club sets off a chain of learning processes which entail leadership and taking over the job of treasurer, band manager, disc jockey, advertising agent or bar keeper.

"The clubs," Müller and Nimmermann state, "are places where young people can learn the patterns of behaviour prevalent in capitalist society. These include the risk involved in undertaking a project, market behaviour and using profits. The fact that young people can learn these things make the clubs far more attractive than the normal youth centres."

Gerhard Weise

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 April 1971)



Teacher-training by television

The first stage of a teacher-training scheme set up by Hamburg's educ[illegible] authorities recently began at the relatively low cost of 115,000 Marks. Th[illegible] feature of the scheme is training by television. Later computer-controlled film [illegible] will be established to augment the present scheme. (Photo: Cary[illegible])

Noricama

Continued from page 7

tion move up and down; craftsmen and bustling industry are building and remaking *the splendour of the old city*. There is a chance to enjoy the arts again.

Once again there is a chance to savour the pious pleasure of the past and the Gothic present. Choirs sing to this glory; the young people of Nuremberg dance to jazz and beat music in cellar clubs — for even in Dürer's day people danced wildly, often kicking their legs higher than the young people today!

People hurry from pavilion to pavilion at the international exhibition hoping they will not miss anything. But Nuremberg would far rather say to the tourists for whom Noricama is designed "it's a good thing to pause at the museums, the churches, the castle, or go to the newly renovated Dürer House in one of the quietest and most picturesque corners of town. And when you feel hungry don't forget the many *Bratwurstglöckle* in the city, where you can eat a Nuremberg style sausage."

(Münchner Merkur, 14 April 1971)

Language and intelligence

The intelligence quotient of adults is often influenced by the extent to which they were exposed to language as a small child, Professor Otto Ewert of the Ruhr University in Bochum told kindergarten teachers at a further training conference in Königswinter.

Professor Ewert believes that mothers or anyone else involved with a child should speak with it as much as possible. It is not important for every sentence to be so simple that the child understands its content and construction, he says.

Small children get to learn sound combinations, rhythms and sentence stress even though they might not understand what is being said, the Professor added by way of explanation.

But mothers should beware of adopting a pedantic tone and should not at any event force the child to learn words. Instead, small children should be told stories.

(Hannoversche Presse, 13 April 1971)

Photography helps children learn

Children now have a new w[illegible] giving creative expression to t[illegible] imagination and the world as they [illegible]ience it — the cheap, fool-proof cam[illegible]

Dr Gerhard Graeb, the internati[illegible] famous photographer and founder [illegible] Education Centre for Visual Comm[illegible]tion at Munich College of Educa[illegible] experimented for four years with three sons and some hundred o[illegible] children from primary schools and [illegible] school classes.

The results can now be seen i[illegible] Munich Stadtmuseum. The first [illegible] exhibition of photographs taken by [illegible]ren can be seen at the museum [illegible] 9 May. The 160 snapshots show [illegible] intact, happy world experienced by [illegible] child and the impression it makes o[illegible]

Graeb found that children liked [illegible] with technology and would photo[illegible] anything that particularly impressed the[illegible] They photograph friends or brothers a[illegible] sisters, animals (mainly in close-up so t[illegible] a pig's snout is seen), their parents [illegible] their homes and gardens. School life do[illegible] not appear in their photographs un[illegible] they are in the ten to fourteen age gr[illegible]

Children treat the camera viewfind[illegible] a window to the world. They expec[illegible] this world as a whole but nearly al[illegible] register it in one single picture. Adul[illegible] the other hand will take a numbe[illegible] pictures of one subject or event.

Graeb found that confirmed by [illegible] experiment on Munich's Viktualienm[illegible] The children quickly took photogra[illegible] things that interested them. Adults [illegible] fully examined everything first and [illegible]tained a critical distance. Only the[illegible] they take any photographs and t[illegible] remained noticeably sterile.

Dr Graeb, whose tenth book *Vors[illegible] kinder fotografieren* (Pre-school chi[illegible] take photographs) is soon to be pu[illegible]ed, feels that the new sphere of chi[illegible] photography has a large number of [illegible] unknown and unexploited possibili[illegible]

Photography, he says, arouses [illegible]ty, encourages a child's intelligen[illegible] pands his vocabulary and trai[illegible] memory.

It could also be used as the[illegible] Experiments have shown that distu[illegible] children soon find their self-confid[illegible] when taking and describing their ph[illegible]graphs and can thus overcome t[illegible] inhibitions.

Karl Stankiewi[illegible]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 April 1[illegible])

■ MEDICINE

Some cancer research advances but causes still unknown

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The 88th Surgical Congress recently held in Munich clearly showed how incomplete our knowledge about the causes of cancer is.

Professor K.H. Bauer of Heidelberg provided a thorough survey of the situation. The number of deaths caused by cancer was still increasing, primarily because of lung cancer in smokers.

It is still not known why the same poisons or toxic compounds cause cancer in one person and not in another. Another point that is unclear is whether vires can also cause cancer in human beings. Tumour immunology is the most interesting new field of research in cancer therapy.

R. Preussmann of the Medical Institute for Toxicology and Chemo-Therapy at the Cancer Research Centre in Heidelberg spoke about changes in the hereditary factors when cancer developed.

The mutation theory concerning the development of cancer claims that cancer-producing substances or vires and ion radiation cause chemical changes in the inherited substance of normal cells, thus turning it into a cancer cell.

This theory has not yet been completely proved but there is a lot of evidence in its favour. *Experiments* with cancer-producing chemicals on live animals have shown that these body substances are mutated into highly active compounds that react with part of the molecule of the hereditary substance DNA.

The part affected by the cancer-producing substances so far examined was the nitrogen base, guanine. During experiments certain parts of the guanine were replaced by other chemical groups.

There are known to be a number of tumours in animals that are caused by a virus. Despite all investigations carried out, there is not yet any evidence that malignant tumours are caused in the same way in humans.

On the other hand we know for sure that a number of physical influences, especially ion radiation, and innumerable chemicals can cause cancer.

It would be theoretically possible that damage done to a cell by a known cancer-producing agent is only the preliminary stage for the conversion of the cell into a cancer cell by an unknown cancer-producing virus.

If this virus theory proved correct, people could be inoculated against cancer, in the same way as against measles, as soon as the virus agents are known.

As far as we know today, in human beings only the harmless wart is caused by vires. The overwhelming majority of malignant tumours are caused by cancer-producing chemicals originating in the outside world, as Professor Schmähl stressed in his lecture.

The more frequent occurrence of certain types of cancer is caused by living habits. The Professor, who is also from the Medical Institute for Toxicology and Chemo-Therapy in Heidelberg, spoke of "geographical pathology" — there were extreme differences in the frequency of the various types of cancer in various parts of the world, he said.

Cancer of the mouth is only common in the Far East where the betel mixture chewed contains tobacco. The influence of living habits can be seen from both geographical variation and differences that have set in from one age to another. Cancer of the mouth was very frequent in Europe around the turn of the century when tobacco was chewed by many people. Lung cancer was rare.



Professor Karl Heinrich Bauer (Photo: dpa)

After people started smoking cigarettes with mild inhalable smoke there was an enormous increase in lung cancer after a certain period had elapsed.

Professor K.H. Bauer, the founder of the Cancer Research Centre in Heidelberg, supplied impressive figures to illustrate the trend.

Death by cancer is on the increase despite the fact that some types of cancer have become more infrequent because of modern food laws and similar measures.

The alarming rise in the number of cancer deaths — fifty thousand in 1969 — is caused solely by the increased frequency of lung cancer.

In 1900 some 250 people in England died of lung cancer. This figure had risen to 26,500 by 1968. In the Federal Republic there were only 7,650 lung cancer deaths in 1952 but the number rose to 19,550 in 1967, two and a half times the 1952 figures.

It is mainly men who die. In the generation now most susceptible to cancer far more men smoked than women. In 1925 when lung cancer was rare twelve per cent more women than men died of cancer as cancer of the female organs was common. Today 8.6 per cent more men die of cancer than women.

Because of regular medical examinations progress has been made with cancer of the womb, the most common type of cancer in women. The early stage can be cured and is easy to diagnose long before any real symptoms occur. A cervical smear is enough in such cases to show the existence of any abnormal cells.

When free medical examinations were started there were too few centres where these could be carried out. Today there are enough but regrettably too little use is being made of them. Professor Bauer called for all women over 35 to have an annual medical examination.

Cancer therapy still consists primarily of early operation, radiation and cytostatics treatment. Progress has been made. The Wilms tumour, a special form of cancer of the kidney in children, was once always fatal. Now this variety can be cured by combining the three methods of treatment.

Professor F. Rehbein of the surgical ward of Bremen Municipal Children's Hospital and G. Landbeck of Hamburg University Children's Hospital told the congress of such cases.

Another important subject discussed at the congress was concerned with serious injuries resulting from an accident. The majority of the most serious injuries are sustained in road accidents.

Professor Gögler of Heidelberg Surgical Hospital stated that thirty per cent of the dangerous brain injuries were caused by industrial accidents and the remaining seventy per cent in road accidents.

Multiple injuries are also far more common in road accidents. A third of the cases are fatal.

The Professor stressed the need for a better geographical distribution of hospitals and special casualty wards. A step in this direction would cut the number of deaths as well as the number of cases of disability, thus saving large sums of money paid out in disability pensions.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 April 1971)

Heart disease still poses complex problems

An eighteen-year-old farm labourer was sent to hospital by his doctor because of a weak heart. For some time he had been short of breath after doing exacting work. He also slept badly, had lost his appetite and had a dry throat.

At the hospital examinations showed that the left ventricle was distended and this was the reason for his weak heart. The cause of this was not known however.

Attempts were made to cure him. The complaint was arrested, it seemed, and the patient was discharged from the hospital, though with strict instructions not to work.

Despite the restfulness of home life, the labourer's shortness of breath became more serious and when he was 21 he was readmitted to the same hospital.

A different course of treatment was tried. But it was no use. Two years later the patient died. At the post-mortem doctors found a distended and enlarged heart with thick layers of connective tissue. Apart from this there were no patholocial findings.

The only clue was given by the family's medical history which suggested that the weak heart could have been inherited. One of the patient's brothers had died of the same complaint at 21, his father had died of it at 58 and his uncle, the father's brother, at 42.

Doctors at the hospital had never encountered such a case before. But they had found eighteen cases of defects in the heart muscle in the course of a few years.

"It was as if we were dealing with a new disease," Professor J. Schmidt of Erlangen's Poliklinik told doctors attending the Internists Congress in Wiesbaden.

But it was not a new disease. Idiopathic myocardiopathy has long been known but it was once so rare that it was only included in medical textbooks for the sake of completeness.

The disease had never before been mentioned at an Internists Congress and the first one was held in 1882. The internal specialists are now holding their 77th congress. Why has this subject not been dealt with before during the congress's ninety-year history?

Professor Franz Grosse-Brockhoff, the Düsseldorf internal specialist and chairman of the Wiesbaden congress, explained why at the beginning of the congress,

"This disease whose causes we do not know is becoming more frequent," he said. "There are more cases in Britain, the United States and Japan as well as in the Federal Republic. All over the world there is an increase of cases where the heart muscle fails for no recognisable reason."

An American research team in Boston produced the same syndrome experimentally by cross-breeding Syrian golden hamsters. They thus created a research model with which they could analyse the enzyme pattern.

There does seem to be an enzyme defect behind this puzzling disease. The enzyme affected is obviously unable to synthesise the particular protein necessary for the muscle fibre of the heart.

The muscle fibre first becomes enlarged, then it atrophies and the muscular tissue is covered with scars of connective tissue.

Despite all treatment, the degeneration process continues until the heart stops. Three times as many men are affected by this complaint than women.

But why is there an increase in the incidence of this disease all over the world? Once again medicine is faced by an enigma. And why has this gloomy situation been made the subject of a congress when the doctor in unable to cure the disease?

Professor Schmidt of Erlangen lectured to the congress on idiopathic myocardiopathy. He considers it possible that only the terminal period of the disease is ever seen.

The disease probably goes through a number of stages that are not known as no work has as yet been done on the subject. The Professor therefore demands that more should be done about early diagnosis.

There are also diseases related to idiopathic myocardiopathy and with a remarkable similarity of symptoms. In Uganda, Kenia and Ethiopia there is a disease called endomycardic fibrosis, a type of rheumatism affecting the heart muscle and with a similar course to idiopathic myocardiopathy. Protein deficiency is thought to be the cause here.

There is also an obstructive idiopathic myocardiopathy where a constricted exit to the left chamber of the heart partially blocks the blood stream.

At the beginning of the disease a systolic murmur can be heard. The disease is less malignant than the non-obstructive variety but it too ends with hypertrophy of the heart.

Doctors also know of muscular dystrophies of the skeletal muscle where the heart muscle may or may not play a part. The heart muscle may also be affected by amyloidoses or protein deposits.

Perhaps closer research will show that the disease now called non-obstructive idiopathic myocardiopathy with the inexplicable changes in the heart muscle is not idiopathic but merely a special form of one of the other diseases with unpronounceable names.

The congress chairman said that the alarm must be raised now that the disease was obviously becoming more frequent for no obvious cause. All doctors are called upon to work together to fight the disease.

Friedrich Deich

(DIE WELT, 21 April 1971)

■ SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

Plans mooted for improved social benefit schemes

WELT am SONNTAG

Since 1968 it has been compulsory for all blue and white-collar workers in the Federal Republic to take out an assurance for provision of a pension on retirement.

The State has not only made it compulsory for people to provide for themselves should they reach advanced years, in the same way that motorists have been forced to protect themselves and third parties by means of insurance. It also requires every dependent breadwinner to insure himself with the State and not with a private life insurance company.

This form of social security is scaled according to earning power. White and blue-collar workers pay contributions proportional to their wages or salaries into the insurance scheme and the pension they receive in retirement is thus automatically proportional to what they earned in their working years.

There is no scheme to level out the social classes.

The State only contributes one eighth of this old-age pension scheme from the taxpayer's money – the worker must find seven-eighths of the premium himself. But workers in this country are provident and all too ready to put away their money for a rainy day.

The result of this socialist scheme for old-age provision *is that State finances,* political feelings and private efforts to ensure security and welfare create a permanent field of tension.

Pensions are constantly being dubbed "ripe for reform" and an optimum solution to the problem of providing money for comfort in old age seems unattainable.

These are the facts: 9,400,000 pensioners were at the beginning of this year receiving on average 371 Marks 50 Pfennigs per month if they had been blue-collar workers or 633,90 if they had been white-collar workers.

In 1958 there were 354 pensioners to every thousand of the working population. Now there are 472. In five years the figure will have risen to 494. So every two workers will be providing for one retired person.

Since 86 per cent of the people in the Federal Republic are at present included in the State scheme for old-age provision it is a logical step towards converting this form of social security to a general Welfare-State.

Britain, Canada and Scandinavia already provide their citizens with the bare-bones of security and comfort in old-age by means of a national pension scheme. Anyone can boost this by joining a private pension scheme or one run by his or her firm.

Of the 455 points in the Chancellery's reform proposals, one that is missing is provision for a national insurance scheme of this kind, which was part of the Social Democrats' election campaign no less than *ten years ago.*

But it is intended to reach the same goal by a different route. First of all craftsmen, freelance professionals, agricultural workers and the smaller independent companies are to be incorporated into the State insurance scheme.

Chancellor Willy Brandt said in connection with this: "Opening up the social security scheme for freelances and other self-employed workers will bolster our efforts on the social welfare plane."

Before the summer recess of the Bundestag Labour Minister Walter Arendt plans to introduce a reform of gigantic proportions – the introduction of a flexible age of retirement. From the age of sixty onwards every worker would be able to make up his own mind when he would leave his job and go into retirement.

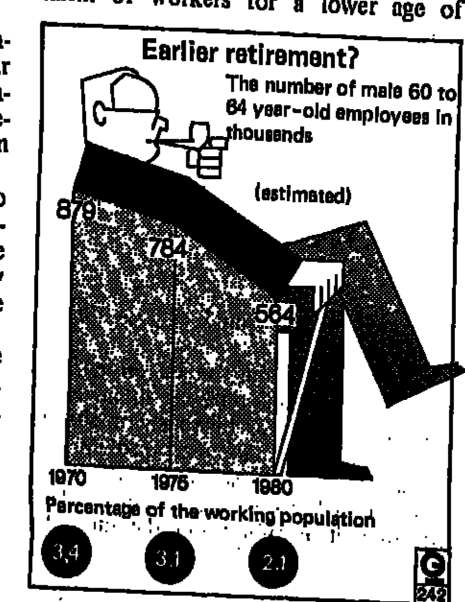
Herr Arendt has taken as his examples for this move France and Italy, which have had flexible retiring ages since 1960. And he has support for this move from the workers themselves. Six out of ten would rather go into retirement early than take extra summer holidays throughout their working lives or work shorter hours each day.

The first of the early retirers would probably be taking advantage of this scheme by 1973.

But Arendt is playing a dangerous game. If workers are to be allowed to decide when they retire then their contributions to pension schemes must be raised or the amounts provided for them under these schemes would have to be cut. If everyone decided to quit at the age of sixty contributions would have to be increased from seventeen to 24.3 per cent. But an increase in contributions to eighteen per cent is already on the cards for 1973 so the actual burden of contributions for the worker would rise to 25.7 per cent if the flexible retiring age were introduced.

Meanwhile an investigation carried out by the institute for applied social sciences in Cologne has shown that one in every two people in the insurance scheme would be prepared to pay higher contributions if the age limit for retirement pensions were lowered.

Ernst Heubeck, an insurance expert from Cologne, damped down the enthusiasm of workers for a lower age of



retirement, however, by explaining that if the amount of contributions remained at the present seventeen-per-cent level the pensioner would lose six per cent of his old-age pension for every year he retired before the present age limit of 65.

Those who would receive 600 Marks per month for retirement at the age of 65 would only receive 420 Marks per month if they retired at the age of sixty.

Another factor involved in early retirement is the effect this would have on the national economy. The full effect of this is something upon which the experts have been unable to reach agreement.

Some argue that earlier retirement would boost productivity. It would free the way to the top for younger more vigorous workers. Friction within companies due to the generation gap would practically disappear and there would be fewer cabals on the factory floor.

Industrialists who argue that the loss of more reliable and experienced older workers would have a detrimental effect on the firm are in the majority. And it is generally felt that in a country where there are more situations vacant than workers to fill them earlier retirement would upset the labour market even further.

One thing that remains certain is that if this squabble about higher contributions or lower pay-outs on retirement pensions is to be avoided the alternative is for the government to pay higher contributions towards the scheme.

Just how much public money this would involve is something that is being kept secret from the man in the street at present. The trades unions reckon on something like 3.5 milliard Marks. Industry says it will be more in the region of one hundred milliard.

*

Equal status for women in retirement pension schemes is an old hobby-horse of reformers. They see justification for this form of sexual equality in the opinions expressed by those directly affected. In a survey 86 per cent of people in this country said that they were in favour of housewives receiving old-age pensions.

The days when the husband was the exclusive breadwinner in a family are past and gone and a senior Federal court has stated officially that the work of a woman in the home is on a par with the husband's work in an office or factory.

Therefore the "profession" of housewife is as much a career as any other job and just as worthy of a retirement pension.

Even economists agree with this point of view and have stated that the work done by a housewife contributes towards the family income. After all if the housewife's work were done by a professional cook, valet and servant this could add anything up to one thousand Marks and more to the family's budget.

Minister of Labour, Herr Arendt, has now expressed his ideas on pensions for the housewife in more concrete terms.

** All women, including those who have always been housewives, would have the opportunity to register in the retirement pension schemes.

** All women who had paid contributions for fifteen years or more would be able to claim their own insurances.

** Not-so-young women would be allowed to pay their contributions backdated to 1956 so that they could enjoy full retirement pensions when they leave work. Each woman would be allowed to determine the level of contributions she would pay. Just how high her pension would be, would be determined by how much she had paid into the scheme.

Woman who have a baby would be excused contributions to the pension scheme for the first year after the happy event. Mothers with children under the age of six would only pay mini-contributions.

Erich Schellenberg, who has for many years been the Social Democratic expert on social welfare schemes, spun the thread out further. Divorced women too should have a claim to a pension following the divorce. According to his calculations the divorced woman should receive half her husband's insurance entitlement and if she takes up a job or voluntarily enters further insurance schemes she can build up a considerable retirement pension. If both partners were out at work before the split then their incomes would be added together, then halved.

As in all pension reform moves the financial problem remains, even when the woman improves her position. For the 3.9 million mothers with children under six alone the government would have to pay out 5,6 milliard of the taxpayers' money each year.

Petra-Monika Jander

(WELT am SONNTAG, 18 April 1971)

Pensions
Annual rise of pensions in percent
1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973
8.1 8.3 6.4 5.5 6.3 10.0
probable figure

Bonn report sho[ws] concern for safe[ty] at work

Not only for humanitarian [...] but also from the economic p[oint of] view it is essential that accident p[reven]tion methods be improved. Bon[n has] taken this line in its report on a[ccident] occurrence and accident preventi[on in] 1968 and 1969 which was publ[ished] recently.

Accident figures have forme[rly] dropped from the all-time high [reached] in 1961, when over three milli[on oc]curred and since then they have [been] keeping to around the two-and[-a-half] million level.

In addition to the methods of acc[ident] prevention already in operation [...] should be a concentration on th[e] spheres where accident prevention [...] have immediate effects and improve[ments] should be made in these spheres [...] according to the government report.

This applies particularly to acc[ident] prevention measures at the scene o[f] most industrial accidents, namely a[t the] workbench.

The government has ascertained [that] not all the technical problems conn[ected] with safety can be resolved. Industr[y] often find that excessive demands [are] made on them in this respect.

Experts on supervision of factories [and] workshops and technical advisers attach[ed] to accident insurance companies cou[ld] not scrutinise all firms and factories [at] short notice, because there are simply no[t] enough of them and their equipment [is] not yet sufficient.

The government report therefore e[m]phasises that supervisory services sho[uld] be overhauled and strengthened, m[ore] men who have training in labour scien[ce] and more factory doctors should [be] employed and legal stipulations [for] accident prevention on the factory f[loor] should be tightened up. More inten[sive] work must be carried out on the resc[ue] side as well.

According to the report the numbe[r of] sicknesses recorded at work in 1968 [was] four per cent up on the previous yea[r and] in 1969 rose by a further 4.7 per cen[t to] 2,630,000 cases.

The number of fatal accidents at w[ork] and diseases directly attributable to w[ork]ing conditions dropped by six per ce[nt in] 1968 to 6,198 cases, but increased [...] in the following year by 0.8 per ce[nt to] 6,247.

The total number of people at wo[rk in] the Federal Republic increased fro[m 26] million in 1968 to 27 million in [the] following year. In 1968 the cos[t of] compulsory accident insurance amoun[ted] to about 4.8 milliard Marks. In 19[69] there was a further increase to 5 [...] milliard Marks.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 April 1971)

■ THE ECONOMY

Hanover Fair and the state of the economy

This year the economic oracle of Hanover is being viewed amid great tension. It is hoped that the Fair, opened on 22 April and the greatest of its kind in the world, will give a clearer view of the misty economic situation and above all some clear indications about the turns that will be taken by prices, demand, investment procedures and the export market following the flood of price rises that has occurred recently.

There will have been half a million visitors to the Trade Fair from more than one hundred countries.

The worldwide tide of inflation is dominating the economic scene and not only in this country. The governments of most industrial nations are faced with this dilemma: a strictly restrictive course to cut down inflation will involve the risk of undermining the level of employment to crisis point.

This could really take on astronomical proportions if the downward spiral were to be aggravated by a simultaneous slump in other countries interacting with this country in the same way that the last burst of inflationary boom activity all over the world affected the Federal Republic.

If this inflationary mentality which determines the mood of the economy, of the unions (and governments?) is not dispelled the industrial sector of the economy will go merrily on its way, but the risk of a multiple collision will be just as great as ever.

Just how far overall incomes and consumption have increased while productivity and profitability in our economy have tumbled can be seen from the latest tax figures, for March.

Income tax in March this year amounted to 41 per cent more than in the corresponding month of 1970. Corporation tax, however, which reflects the profitability of industrial concerns, dropped by nineteen per cent as compared with last year.

The government, and this year for the first time the Opposition, too, expressed their opinions on this situation on the opening day of the Hanover Trade Fair.

Economic Affairs Minister Karl Schiller expressed the hope in his opening address that at the eleventh hour there would be a stability pact between industrialists and the trades unions. Following the last round of consultations in the concerted action programme there is a certain amount of optimism expressed in this hope.

Nevertheless perhaps Professor Schiller will not be disappointed. This is possible if the risks we are running by pursuing the present course become clearer in the immediate future.

The Economic Affairs Minister also spoke of the firm resolve of Bonn and the Bundesbank "to use their room for manoeuvre with regard to stabilisation policies more decisively and consistently in order to get the disturbing rise in prices in a firm grip."

At the same time, however, Professor Schiller made no secret of the fact that even this room for manoeuvre for autonomous currency and economic policies is very limited by the conditions obtaining today and only international agreements on cooperative economic policies can help us to achieve anything now.

The road to such an agreement, however, is long and we are at present taking the first timorous, very timorous, steps in this direction.

For the time being unfortunately it

Continued on page 12



A bird's-eye view of the 117-acre site of the 1971 Hanover Fair, the world's largest industrial exhibition

(Photo: Messe-AG/Luftbilddienst Niedersachsen, Freigabe Nieders. Min. für Wirt. und Verk. Nr. 11/32/70)

Creeping inflation acts like a narcotic

WESTERN GOVERNMENTS STAND BY AND WATCH HELPLESSLY

The economy is waiting for a sign. It would like to know where it will end up on the mystery tour. Is the boost to production that came in the first few months of this year and the continued high level of incoming contracts just a passing phase of boom activity or are we seeing the beginnings of a lasting boom period?

Nothing is worse for the industrialist than uncertainty. Industrial leaders like to know as far as possible in advance how many of their products will find markets and under what conditions. Sales are the motive force behind a free enterprise economy.

Representatives of industry and other sectors of the economy who were present in Hanover for the opening of this year's international trade fair were hoping that in the course of this important nine-day event they would receive the kind of sign they wanted.

At this time when official sources are maintaining radio silence industrialists are having to content themselves with the transmissions they can pick up from other broadcasts.

One such transmission was put out by the Bundesbank in Frankfurt, which informed industry that incoming orders in the first two months of this year were substantially higher on average than in November and December 1970. It was in orders from abroad that the sharpest increase was noted.

The capital investment goods industry was the main beneficiary.

But with prices rising at their present astronomical rate it would be as well if we got used to reckoning in quantities of orders as well as in their total value. If price rises are ignored then it will be seen that incoming orders from abroad have at least not declined.

Customers in this country have ordered goods not only to a greater value than before, but also in greater quantities.

One factor that has almost certainly had a part to play in this is that from 1 February degressive depreciation on capital investment goods has been allowed once again. Under this system the tax-saving depreciation rates on investment goods are at their highest in the year in which the items are ordered.

In addition to this, investment tax, which is a leftover from the days of the changeover to value added tax was cut at the beginning of the year from six per cent to four.

This temporary boom is deceptive in that it covers up the full extent of the economic recession afflicting this country. In the midst of growing criticism of the free enterprise economy from the point of view of social welfare policies nothing would be more dangerous than a recession involving mass unemployment.

We should not blindly believe that our political setup is so stable that it can cope with disruptions that would be brought about and aided by an economic decline.

It seems, however, that the quasi-guarantee of full employment that the Chancellor gave at the height of the



economic boom has not been taken into consideration. For it almost appears that a higher level of employment, with more than two million foreign workers in the Federal Republic for the first time, is being upheld by demand from abroad.

Just a few months ago many people were saying that this time, unlike 1967, demand for exports from this country would not be sufficient to drag the economy out of the depths of recession.

But in the United States President Nixon is steering the economy to a new period of high activity and in most countries in Europe industry has been given the green light. Our exports will *therefore provide a good support for the* industrial sector of the economy once again.

But this time it will not be the task of the export trades to give the initial impulse to the economy as was the case in 1967. In this economic cycle it is hoped that orders from abroad will have the effect of stopping our economy from sliding into a slump in the first place.

The nine-day Hanover Fair will have shown industry whether these hopes are justified. Export orders will perhaps not have been good enough to warrant industrial capacities as large as at present. But they will have been good enough to prevent a slump of the proportions of 1966-1967.

The price that will have to be paid for this is indeed high. The erosion of the value of the Mark goes on and on. It numbs the senses like a drug and confounds the experience we have gained in the past that wage claims in excess of productivity per man-hour lead to unemployment and a drop in sales – and this is despite the fact that the burden of labour costs has put everything we have ever experienced in the past in the shade and despite the fact that there are still successful attempts being made to pass on these higher wage bills to the customer in the form of higher prices.

This drug of creeping inflation is making everybody "high". What is so bad is that the governments in the West are just standing by and watching helpless to do anything about it.

They do not know how they can take this drug away from their subjects without leaping from the frying-pan of depreciation into the fire of unemployment.

On the national front there is nothing that can be done now. And so the economic policies of all countries in the West are going through a period of trial in which they have to justify themselves.

Rudolf Herlt

(DIE WELT, 22 April 1971)

■ HANOVER FAIR

Poles make an impressive effort at this year's Fair

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Eduard Scharneczki, head of the Polish pavilion, sounded a Western note as he laid on Szeged goulash and Polish beer to accompany the largest display of Polish goods ever.

At this year's Hanover Fair the emphasis is as far as Poland is concerned is on industrial and construction machinery but Scharneczki made special mention of the Warsaw Treaty signed late last year and so did the Polish press hand-outs, which were written in first-rate German.

Scharneczki had every reason for being optimistic to the point of euphoria. Last year Polish exports to this country increased by nearly forty per cent to 744 million Marks and for the first time ever Poland made a profit, as it were, of 86 million Marks.

In the near future, he noted, Polish construction workers will be assembling a fourteen-million-Mark sulphuric acid plant in Duisburg and in the course of a few months joint ventures had reached a turnover of 100 million Marks.

Poland is bent on purveying as much information as possible. After a couple of years during which the GDR has pursued a relatively frank information policy East Berlin is now playing hard to get.

Last year and the year before more or less exhaustive information was forthcoming at the GDR pavilion. This year queries are referred to "Herr Hamann, our press officer, who should be in Hall 8."

Herr Hamann is not to be found in Hall 8, not even at a later, prearranged time. In Hall 8 one is told to try Hall 11 but the people in Hall 11 are very sorry. Herr Hamann is probably in Hall 8.

The range of GDR goods on exhibit is less spectacular than in years gone by. There is no sign of the showpieces that used to be the talk of the Fair. "We are not bringing our railway cranes any longer," a fitter disclosed. "The Bundesbahn doesn't buy them anyway."

So the GDR's open-air exhibits are limited to a couple of sixty-ton diesel locomotives the like of which can also be seen on West German stands and a number of mobile cranes.

The eye-catcher of the GDR stand is a mobile revolving crane built by VEB Kirow, the Leipzig heavy engineering concern, that is capable of hoisting its payload to the respectable height of 48.5 metres (160 feet). It is, one of the fitters divulges, the tallest crane in the Eastern Bloc.

Not far from it, though, is a similar crane built by Otto Wolf of this country that can lift its payload seventy metres (230 feet) and towers above its neighbours. It costs 500,000 Marks. No one would say what the GDR crane was going to cost.

The twenty-fifth Hanover Fair boasts 5,768 exhibitors, including 1,208 from abroad, between them taking up 468,848 square metres (117 acres) of floor space, but in some respects it is more modest than its recent predecessors.

The world's largest industrial fair this year lacks the big boys that used to characterise the open-air display. The largest exhibit is not supplied by a private manufacturer but by the Bundesbahn.

It is an eight-axle low-loader waggon with an underslung loading ramp. It is 20.6 metres (68 feet) long, weighs 76 tons and has a load capacity of 96 tons.

It cost 2.50 Marks a kilo to build, a Bundesbahn engineer calculates. The smallest exhibit, an astroquartz wristwatch that is the smallest of its kind in the world, costs 1,600 Marks, or 50.53 Marks per gramme.

A Bad Salzuflen manufacturer of one of the most popular exhibits need hardly worry about the price of his window-cleaning machine. It may retail at 192 Marks but he is selling a couple of hundred a day.

Motorists' lives are also to be made easier. Anyone who has a do-it-yourself home drill can buy a compressor and pump attachment for a modest 123 Marks and keep his own tyres at the right pressure.

Die-cast furniture is displayed by a major chemicals manufacturer. Desks, beds and cupboards can all be supplied in one piece. And in Hall 1 fourth-generation computers are on exhibit.

When the first generation of computers were first marketed ten years or so ago their electronic brains were capable of storing 4,000 to 5,000 items of information.

With the aid of monolithic circuits the fourth generation are capable of storing up to 800 million items of data and able to deliver the goods a good deal faster than their predecessors.

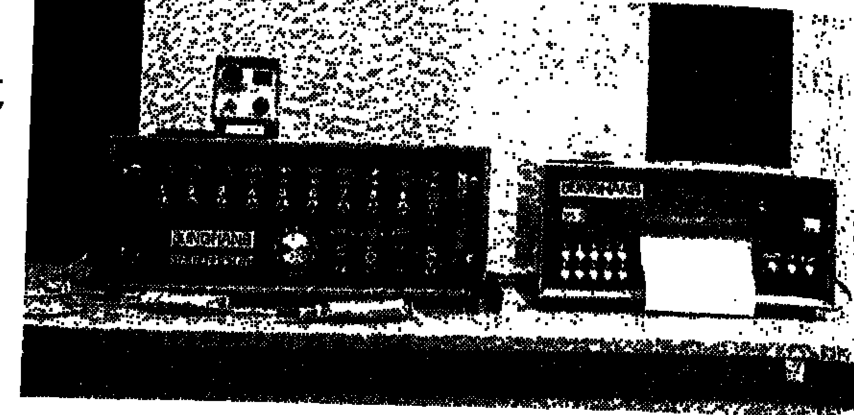
The man in the street can make do with the Logomat Pfiffikus, a five-Mark circular slide rule based on computer research and capable of two million different positions.

By means of a mere flick of the hands numbers of unlimited length can be added, subtracted, multiplied and divided.

Shareholders' lives have also been made easier. For eight Marks they too can buy a special slide rule with which to work out stock market gains and losses in a matter of moments.

Josef Schmidt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 April 1971)



This Junghans computerised timing system will form part of the recording devices to be used next year at the Munich Olympics (Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

Doubts dispelled

Continued from page 11

seems that we are closer to a general European agreement to do nothing, rather than a communal plan of immediate action.

The Economic Affairs Minister's comments about the inflexibility that dogs the international monetary system at the moment also underlined that a lot of water will have to flow under the bridge before the prerequisites for international solidarity and cooperation are set up and economic and currency policies are run along cooperative lines.

But Karl Schiller did not try to blame our present malaise on the international situation alone. He admitted that it was not entirely matters beyond the control of the Federal Republic that were guilty for the alarming rate of price increases in recent times. He mentioned that this problem had certain "home-made" causes as well.

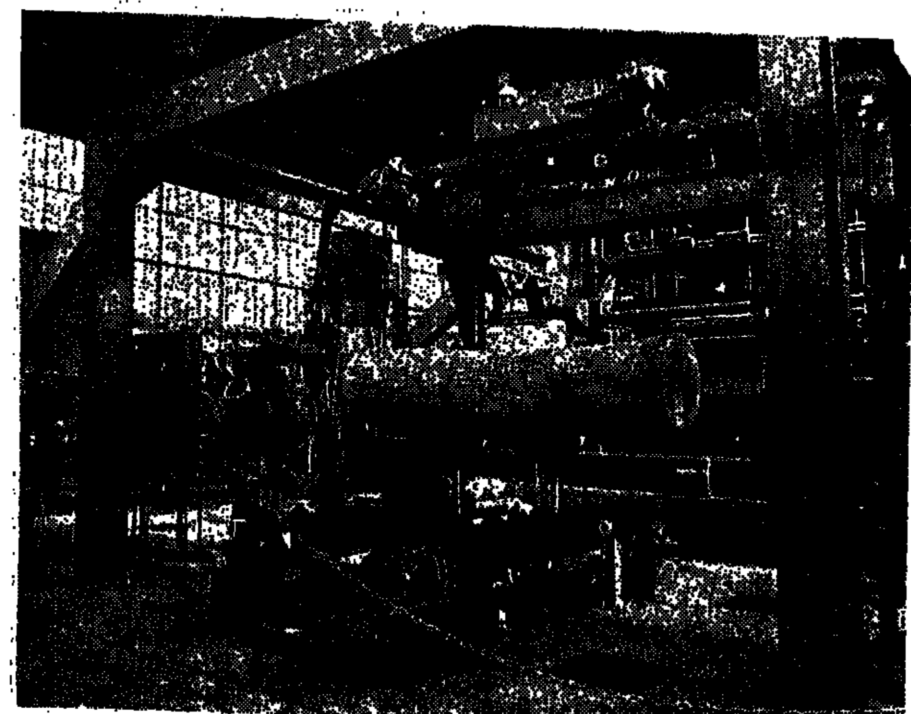
As spokesman for the Opposition Rainer Barzel surprised many by not providing the expected counterpoint to Karl Schiller. His list of demands for remedying the situation culminated in the call to make currency stabilisation policies top priority. This was a demand that the Economic Affairs Minister himself had already made.

Opposition suggestions were limited to setting out aims without in one single case giving any idea of how the Opposition foresaw these aims being put into practice in the current situation.

Barzel maintains that cooperation between industrialists and trade unions as brothers in a pact of concerted action against "trotting inflation" will only be possible if the government gives absolute priority to fighting inflation and is quite unequivocal that this is its main aim. But then it seems even more reasonable to view cooperation between both sides of industry as a prerequisite for the restoration of stability rather than as an outcome of it. Barzel obviously confuses cause and effect.

Walter Slotosch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 April 1971)





This Hanover exhibit features the latest in sawmill machinery manufactured in this country (Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

Latest from the Fair

Music-lovers will soon consider stereo to be old hat, according to a Kiel manufacturer who has unveiled quadrophony at this year's Hanover Fair.

Unlike conventional stereo reproduction equipment the new tuner has four forty-watt channels and a total output of 250 watts.

Four loudspeakers combine to convert everyone's living-room into a concert hall.

These nozzles, sensitive measuring devices unveiled at this year's Hanover Fair, are part of the Siemens early warning fire alarm system (Photo: Siemens)

The unit is claimed to include not only loudspeakers but also highly sensitive reception equipment.

*

This year it is the Bundesbahn's turn to exhibit the showpieces of the Hanover Fair in respect of size. One of the railways' star items is an eight-axle low-loader waggon with a capacity of 96 tons and a maximum load length of 29 metres (95 feet).

Even if the freight carried is a little wider than normally allowed signals and buildings alongside the track are no longer in danger of demolition. With the aid of a hydraulic device the load can be displaced up to forty centimetres (sixteen inches).

Should the sidings at either end be inadequate the entire superstructure can be hoisted hydraulically and the bogies replaced by a heavy-duty commercial vehicle chassis.

*

Another exhibit at Hanover is a miniature dictaphone as tall as a ball-point pen and as wide as a dollar bill. Its mini-cassettes have a capacity of two by fifteen minutes, or ten to twelve typewritten pages. The nine-volt battery has a nine-hour life span.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 April 1971)

FAIR NEWS

Folding doors are now available without fragile hinges. The sections are linked by steel springs. The door has nylon runners in a concealed upper groove. It can be supplied in heights of up to six metres (twenty feet) and in any width. When folded it takes up a tenth of the full width.

*

Combination drawers have been developed for private use or for businessmen who may need to have large sums of money or valuable items within arm's reach. The drawers have no key. They close automatically and have a combination under the handle. If a digit is pressed out of turn an alarm rings.

*

Sheet and foil can be cut into the required size — even five-millimetre toughened fibre sheeting — with the aid of a pair of synthetic scissors. They operate electrically without needing to be sharpened for roughly 400 hours. The scissors weigh a mere three pounds.

*

Automatic doors such as supermarket customers are familiar with are now available in virtually unlimited sizes. As soon as anyone approaches the gateway opens. It jumps back if anyone is caught between the doors and should it break down pressure on a simple lever is sufficient to free anyone who might be trapped.

*

Anyone with ninety centimetres of floor space and 1.10 metres of headroom to spare at home has enough room to install a home sauna. The sauna can be unrolled and is plugged into the nearest electric point.

*

Cleansing cream that makes light work of obstinate paint, liquid plastic, printer's ink and the like has been specially developed for industrial and domestic use. As the lotion feeds fat to the skin the usual after-effects of powerful cleansing agents are avoided.

*

Polyurethane is the basis of a new imitation leather introduced in twelve fashionable colours for the Hanover Fair. It is available in all finishes from silk to rough and glossy to matt. It looks like suede.

*

In Hall 1 there is a photocopier that prints on normal, non-emulsion paper. It can handle ten copies a minute and is extremely versatile, copying one or both sides of written or printed masters. It makes light work of books and magazine articles and by copying on both sides saves both space and paper.

*

Photoprinting is the name given to a new process enabling up to three photographs and text to be reproduced cleanly and recognisably even on the side of a ball-point pen.

Photoprinting will particularly appeal to prospective MPs and councillors, firms and private individuals who fancy the idea of snapshots of themselves on their cards. The photos are 12 by 22 mm.

*

Run by a dry battery that can be recharged overnight an automatic rubber makes short shrift of typing errors and the like at no less than 4,000 revolutions per minute.

The speed of rotation helps to preserve the original surface, the manufacturers claim, and the device erases not only on paper but also on plastic and other foils providing only that the appropriate refills are inserted.

Weighing only half a pound, the automatic rubber can also be used to sharpen pencils.

*

Cellars of private houses can now be fitted out with air-conditioning equipment for the bathroom. It removes the damp, in the process reclaiming heat that can be used to warm water, floor or air.

*

Tiny electronic ladies' wristwatches in steel and plaqué are run by a battery with a life span of roughly eighteen months.

*

Blue foil for lining swimming baths has been newly developed. Malleable so as to mould to fit any corner, it can neither rust nor tear. It is like a second skin on the inside surface of the pool.

*

A box 90 by 70 by 138 centimetres (36 by 28 by 28 inches) contains the makings of a two-seater boat collapsible into four sections. It features 21 screws with the aid of which a real boat for two people and accessories can be assembled without resort to special equipment of any kind.

*

Slide-rule users will have little difficulty in manipulating a profit and loss calculator for stocks and shares. The buying price is set in one column, the latest market quote in another and the percentage gain or loss automatically appears in a third slot.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 April 1971)

Five-cwt, 80-mph plastic workhorse

The Flexi-Traction, a three-seater vehicle made almost entirely of plastic, weighs a mere 550lbs, is capable of speeds of up to eighty miles an hour and is so good at negotiating open country that it should be of interest to both agriculture and forestry. It is also amphibious, has hollow plastic rollers instead of wheels and a chassis consisting of ninety per cent polyurethane. Interest has been shown by American and Japanese manufacturers. (Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

■ OUR WORLD

Frei Otto conceives plans for city in the Arctic

Utopia, with a city in the Arctic wastes, has come just that one step nearer. Professor Frei Otto of Stuttgart has recently made public his plans for insulating an entire city with a tent. He calls his studies Project IL 2.

He believes that in ten years' time it will be possible to build a city of between 20,000 and 45,000 persons in areas of inclement weather so that the city will have "normal" climatic conditions and will be economically viable. He estimates that costs for such a city would in the first instance be in the region of a milliard Marks.

Professor Otto's studies are more than just an idea. They are definite proposals for a city to be built for habitation in the Arctic. Statistics for the project have been drawn up by Ove Arup of London. The architectural problems of such a city are being handled by Kenso Tange from Japan with his team. The central organisation is being operated by Professor Otto and his assistants, aided by Ewald Bubner. The dye firm of Hoechst has promised future financial aid for the project.

Professor Frei Otto has already designed buildings for Mecca in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. He already has on the drawing board a huge hotel with conference facilities and a sports centre. In Munich he is responsible for the massive hanging roof that will cover the Olympics stadium. Models of the buildings that are proposed for the Arctic city are being stuck together in the Professor's studios at Warmbronn, near Stuttgart.

More than twenty draughtsmen are in Professor Otto's team, men from Britain, Japan and this country prepare drawings that are corrected by the Professor himself.

Who is likely to commission a city in the Arctic? The Russians, who have themselves been working on a similar project for a couple of years but about which little is known? Or the Americans? The Canadians, perhaps? Or is it likely that one day a development aid subsidy will be allocated for the building of the city in the cold north? Is it likely that this project that has obvious political and economic overtones will be speeded up?

A prospect for the project declares: "It is possible to build a city in varying geographical conditions". The prospect continues: "Firstly the surrounding perimeter will be laid out, with a diameter of two thousand meters. Then a double-thickness skin will be laid out and inflated with air. Then the city can be built within the "tent", protected from the cold and in ordinary building conditions . . ."

It's as simple as that – deceptively simple when Arctic temperatures are considered, the distance the region is from civilisation and the difficulties involved in delivering raw materials to the site.

But Professor Otto, born in Karl-Marx-Stadt (formerly Chemnitz) brushes such doubts aside with an airy wave of his hand. He met similar doubts about the hanging roof for the Olympic stadium and now his techniques applied in that project have become standard.

The covering, which will give protection to as many as 30,000 people will be of double thickness. Under its protection people will be able to work, study and enjoy themselves just as in normal conditions. The covering will be translucent and the sun, moon and stars will be visible.

The whole will be supported by a net of plastic which will absorb about a third of the light. It will keep in the warmth produced as a byproduct of the city's nuclear power station.

At its highest point the covering will be 250 metres above ground (about 800 feet). The covering will be storm-proof and on account of its cupola form protected from being overburdened with snow. The net will be strong enough to bear the weight of men aloft to clean and repair it. It is estimated that the covering will have to be renewed every twenty years. The supporting net is given a durability of one hundred years.

Close to the city there will be a traffic assembly point with a covered way as far as the airport and to the habour that will be maintained ice-free by means of the heat produced by the nuclear power station.

Easy access to the city under the cupola will be made. Buildings such as business houses, hotels, theatres, schools, kindergartens can be joined together at the ground floor level. At this level delivery vehicles can operate, out of sight, and through this level fresh Arctic air will be circulated and the foul air pumped away.

A three-hundred-metre high periscope will extend out of the cupola – naturally with a restaurant included in its design – serving as a surveillance tower. The design of the city also provides for precautions against catastrophes including fire. The traditional water tower will be visible over the roofs of the city's buildings.

Pedestrians will move about on movable stairways above the traffic which circulates on the ground level.

"The city is without noise," the text maintains. "How is that? Is it harmful when people hear only their own footsteps?"

The head man laughs quietly embarrassed slightly. "Naturally not, he says, but the cupola absorbs all noise. Smilingly he adds: "Only the cry of "It's a goal" at the sports centre cannot be completely damped down."

Further points concerning the Arctic city were made verbally. A huge sunlight lamp will replace natural light during the long months of the Polar winter, maintaining the usual rhythms of night and day.

It is proposed to landscape sections of the city planting trees, hedged lanes and a botanical garden complete with pools. There will also be a zoo. These aspects of the city are in the hands of Kenso Tange who has built many recreation centres in populous Japan. It is proposed not only to make life in the Arctic city bearable but indeed attractive.

Professor Otto is not only concerned with the Arctic city where men can live to exploit the polar riches, he is also concerned with the problems of environment. He has given much thought to protecting the air we breath from pollution caused by industrial centres, prospecting for oil and open-cast working.

His "tents" including the network and inflating them with air cost between 350 and 500 Marks per square metre.

Walter Pfuhl

(DIE WELT, 20 April 1971)

A model of Professor Otto's Arctic tent

(Photos: Frei Otto, dpa)



The Robot Hand developed by Hans von Muldau in Da

Darmstadt research produces th slave of the future

Utopia is already with us at Rossdorf near Darmstadt. Only science fiction fans would shake their heads in disbelief when Hans von Muldau, 38, an engineer and a director of the electronics firm Kypertronik proudly proclaims: "In about fifteen years' time robots perfect in every detail will be with us."

Hans von Muldau believes that the first steps towards producing Man artificially have already been taken. He proposes to present at the Hanover Fair his Robot Hand, modelled like a human hand, made of a very sensitive metal and capable of many complicated manoeuvres.

The performance will be somewhat eerie. Imagine factories empty of workers where the Robot Hand would do all the work.

Hans von Muldau said: "Our Robot arm is the first and the most successful step towards a complete robot. Robots are the slaves of the future."

"Men working on a conveyor belt are nothing more than automatons. Their advantage is that they can be easily programmed. We shall be able to achieve the same result with our artificial men."

Robot Arms, called by the experts manipulators, will be used for work that is dangerous to men. Because of this they will have to have the same proportions as men.

It has taken Hans von Muldau and his 100-man team more than thirty months to develop the metal hand. Metal parts are used in the pattern of the human hand, small motors replace the muscles, special strips of metal replace the fingers and the whole is program obey orders, which are normally g the human brain.

Development costs so far have the half-a-million-Mark level. A sum would need to be put asid estimated, before the metal arm c put into production for general sa

The Federal Ministry for Sci Affairs has so far refused to financially Hans von Muldau's Officials of the Ministry have investi Muldau's work but have so far refus offer him a subsidy or to give him firm orders.

With a shrug of his shoulders He Muldau says: "It's no good getting Officials are too busy. They do no time to extend their horizons as development projects."

Hans von Muldau has had to financ research into his robot "Jonatan" development is called from the profi makes with his computer production data processing equipment. This do have one advantage, namely that H von Muldau has no restrictions impo upon him to take any contracts that be offered. In six months times Hans Muldau will sell his first manipulator buyer in Bavaria.

Hans von Muldau like all the members of his team are strict pac He said: "We are vehemently against use of the apparatus for military purpo although we realise that it is al impossible for us to prevent this."

Moritz Neuma

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 April

■ SPORT

Veightlifter udolf Mang's mbitions

A n old man clambered on to the rostrum and shouted "Three cheers r our Rudolf!" Glasses and steins were sed in affirmation at the long, scrubbed itewood tables. Young Rudolf had just sted a mountain of metal.

This all happened a little over a year o in the gymnasium of the tiny village Bellenberg, halfway between Ulm and mmingen.

Three hundred yards away from the use in which he was born, as the crow s, nineteen-year-old Rudolf Mang had t set up a new national record of 570 logrammes (11cwt 22lb) in the press, tch and jerk.

On 7 January 1970 Rudolf Mang was ly twenty kilos short of the world cord, held by Leonid Shabotinsky of the Soviet Union.

Carried away by his protege's performance trainer Josef Schnell set his sights on a weight that only a year ago was wishful thinking, a new pinnacle of human achievement: 600 kilogrammes, or 11 cwt 88 lb. "Rudolf ought to manage it by the end of the year," he forecast.

Today Rudolf Mang is 35 kilogrammes short of the world record yet Schnell's forecast was anything but wildly optimistic, merely a little premature. At last month's national championships in Coburg Mang improved his personal best to 590 kilos, only 22 lb short of his trainer's objective.

On 18 March 1970 in Minsk, though, 28-year-old Armenian Vassili Alexeyev hoisted 600 kilos in three clear lifts and went on, as the months went by, to hoist 625 kilos (12cwt 31lb).

Once the spell of the seemingly unattainable 600 kilos had been broken two other weight-lifters went on to pull it off. Both Stanislav Batishchev of the Soviet Union and Belgian librarian Serge Reding have since hoisted the 600.

Weight-lifters now have a new target: thirteen hundredweight, or 650 kilogrammes. Need one add that this is the unladen weight of a small car?

The winner of the Olympic gold medal at Munich will have to hoist 650 kilos, says Vassili Alexeyev, waging psychological warfare against his competitors. Hardly a month passes but he sets up a new world record.

He either improves his performance in one or other of the three disciplines or adds a few kilos to his all-in record. (The three movements are known in German as the Olympic triathlon, by the way.) And his competitors' hearts sink as they read ll about it in the morning paper.

The heavy boys only cross bars, as it ere, at European and world championips and the Olympics. Otherwise the eights are the enemy and their duels are ong-distance affair. The elite are so few and far between that each is the champion of his own part of the world.

This is a feeling that the champions need more even than their daily ration of steaks, for they all have one thing in common. Within their bulging diaphragms beat hearts of butter.

Take Rudolf Mang, for instance. Between that glorious evening in Bellenberg and the 590-kilo hoist in Coburg he went through a period he readily describes as frightful.

Let us take a closer look at Rudolf Mang. He has slimmed, if that is the right word for someone who still weighs more than 220 lb. "I weigh exactly 240 lb (18 st. 12 lb), far too little," he comments.

By the time June and the European championships in Sofia come round he intends to have put on at least ten kilos – yet Mang is touchy about accusations that he is a guts.

"I hardly eat anything," he protests. "As a rule I do without breakfast. For lunch I have a schnitzel or a roast – and I don't eat all that much in the evening either.

"Before the national chmapionships I did, when all is said and done, lose six pounds in a fortnight. I just wasn't hungry."

He tells his story in a room that looks more like a pet shop than anything else. He has four aquariums full of tropical fish and in the kitchen there is a fifth, 400-litre one. Not to mention chameleons and four cages of birds. "They are my hobby," he says.

A new portable typewriter tops an old wooden table. "That," he comments, "is where I deal with my correspondence." He is now a businessman, selling protein extract supplied by his trainer Josef Schnell to other athletes.

"He gets the stuff from New Zealand and heaven knows where. I don't earn a great deal. Just the odd Mark or so." He smiles as he recalls a magazine reporter who wanted to know what he eats. "I told him I eat protein powder equivalent to fifteen eggs in a glass of milk every evening. And what did he write? Mang eats fifteen eggs a day and protein too. When will they ever learn that I don't eat like a horse?"

As for the world championships in Columbus, Ohio, "I am convinced I could have managed 600 kilos, and not only because my trainer had forecast I would. But at the second attempt my foot gave in the press and that was that."

He takes some birdseed between finger and thumb and sprinkles it into the cage occupied by a greenfinch, "What then happened put ideas into my head that others may perhaps not be able to understand.

"Always having to pull it off was intolerable. Ever since I started weight-lifting I have had to do this, that or the other. I have already been made out to be the likely winner of the 1972 Olympics but I will only be 22 and not even fully grown by 1972."

Mang was thinking in terms of refusing to accept the grant supplied by the Sports Aid Foundation. "I often felt that the money was too much of a strain even though it only just covers my expenses. You lose your independence. It depressed me. Isn't that understandable enough?"

In the end he played ball, though. "In the final analysis I couldn't do without the money unless I were to give up weight-lifting altogether. I have given up my job as a TV mechanic since you cannot train four or five hours a day and do a full day's work as well."

Mang picks up a four-page illustrated brochure, an advert for Josef Schnell, his self-taught trainer. "He has developed completely new training equipment and weights and sells them all over the world. I owe him a lot."

Following Mang's failure at the world championships Josef Schnell had to bear the brunt of a good deal of criticism. The self-willed founder of a weight-lifting commune in tiny Peutenhausen, near Augsburg, retired as Mang's official trainer.

He sent him home to Bellenberg but provided him with written training instructions. "Josef Schnell," Mang says, "is still my ideal partner."

The greenfinch is a voracious bird. Rudolf throws him a few more seeds. "Yuri Vlassov of Russia has written poetry and Alexeyev is no dope either. Weight-lifters need some completely different hobby or other to keep their balance.

"I have my fish and my birds. Weight-lifting is not merely a matter of brute force. Above all else you need to be able to concentrate."

A few yards away from the house is a garage surrounded by fruit trees. It smells of fresh paint. The wooden floor is newly laid and there are heaters and training equipment on the walls. This is the workshop of a man who, it is hoped, will win Olympic gold.

"I don't know what my limit is. Maybe thirteen, maybe fourteen hundredweight. But for that I would probably have to weigh three myself."

Peter Bizer

(WELT am SONNTAG, 18 April 1971)

WELT am SONNTAG

Rudolf Mang

(Photo: Sven Simon)



Topping-out preparations

A fitter is here seen working on the 410-kilometre (255-mile) network of hawsers that is to support the transparent roof of the central complex of Olympic sports facilities at Munich next year. The roof will rival the Brussels atomium as a city hallmark and is already a statistical prodigy. It will consist of 137,000 joints, weigh 1,645 tons and cover a surface area of nineteen acres.

(Photo: dpa)

…en	SA $ 0.05
…hanistan	Af 10.—
…geria	DA 0.60
…gola	Esc. 1.—
…gentina	$ m n 45.—
…stralia	10 c.
…stria	S 3.—
…lgium	bfr 6.—
…livia	$ b 1.50
…azil	N. Cr. $ 0.35
…lgaria	Lev 0.05
…rma	K 0.60
…rundi	F. Bu. 10.—
…mbodia	R 4.40
…meroun	F.C.F.A. 30.—
…nada	Can. $ —.20
…ylon	cR —.60
…ile	Esc. 0.60
Colombia	col. $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—
Costa Rica	C 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.60
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT £ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	11 d
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea.	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.80
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	60 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
Libya	50 Mills
Luxembourg	lfr 6
Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
Morocco	DM —.65
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	Hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.85
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	L. 3.50
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 8.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	£ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d